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—Ameer-ul-Momineen Hazrat Khalifatul M

Translated by A. Q

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بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

نحمده ونصلي على رسوله الكريم

The subject I intend to discuss today* is connected with the Tahreek-i-Jadeed. It is in fact the Tahreek-i Jadeed (New Movement) on a universal scale, the New Movement applied to World Problems—to those intricate and baffling questions which confront modern man, problems which he must solve, or suffer an injury to the structure of civilisation the full extent of which cannot yet be visualised.

So far, whenever I have discussed the New Movement, or explained it to the Ahmadiyya Community, my treatment has remained confined only to those aspects which concern the individual : its importance when applied on a universal scale to the collective aggregate life of the human race has remained untouched. For, in a manner of speaking, its full implications have been borne in upon me only gradually. When I put the scheme before the Community in my first *Khutba* I dealt with those of its features which had been put into my mind by God ; I explained those features as the explanation came to me from Him. Thus it

* Translation of a lecture delivered at the annual gathering of the Ahmadiyya Community at Qadian on December 27, 1942—*Ed.*

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is true to say that many benefits of the Movement remained hidden from my view for some time. That is the reason why the aspect to which I am turning today has remained in obscurity so far. Perhaps it was God's will that the subject should unroll itself fully to my mind at a time when the world's need for it was the most acute.

Summary of the subject.

Stated briefly, the subject I am going to discuss is this, that the New Movement which I started, or to be more precise, which was started by me under the Will of God, this Movement in the Divine Scheme is intended to serve as a seed the full fruition of which would realise the primary social aims of Islam and serve to strengthen the roots of humanity.

Here I think I should warn friends that discussion of the subject that follows might at first glance appear to be unconnected with the New Movement. But if they listen patiently, with due attention, they shall find the whole discourse applicable in full to the Tahreek-i-Jadeed.

Environment of the Tahreek.

Things look best and beautiful only when seen in their proper environment ; if you tear them out of their natural settings they lose their beauty. To facilitate a proper grasp of the Tahreek, therefore, it is desirable that I should take stock of the general world conditions out of which has risen the need for a Movement of this kind.

Deep and far-reaching changes are taking place in the world in front of our eyes. Now what do these changes signify ? What do they portend ? How are they going to affect the future of the human race ? How would they affect *our own* future when we feel their impact ? How would the rest of the Muslim world react to them ? How can we safeguard ourselves against them, if these changes are for the worse ? How and to what extent

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should we accept them if they are useful and beneficial ? These are questions of vital interest for us.

Class distinctions in our days and their effect.

Let us take the division between the rich and the poor, for this is the root of many problems. Two very important developments are taking place in the world in this respect. On the one hand the contrast between the rich and the poor is getting intensely and painfully vivid, while on the other consciousness of this contrast among the poor is becoming deep and very bitter.

The difference between the rich and the poor is an age-old difference, for there have always been rich and poor people in the world. But rich people in the past differed in many things from the rich people in our own day. The old type of rich man is now almost extinct, remnants of the breed surviving only in places out of the way and therefore comparatively untouched by modern influences. The old squire undoubtedly had money and corn in plenty, and an abundance of other things which satisfy the needs of man. But his dealings with those less fortunately placed were characterised by a liberality and munificence undreamed of in these days. Many years ago a Punjabee squire of the old type fell ill and stayed in Lahore for some time for medical treatment. Happening to go to Lahore at the time, I heard that people from his neighbourhood in large numbers were calling upon him daily to inquire after his health—sometimes as many as three or four hundred in a day ; and the curious part of it was that they all brought gifts. One man brought a sheep, another brought some rice, another some sugar, wheat, or flour, and so on, because it was not considered meet to call on the squire empty-handed. And the squire, in his place, had set up a big kitchen to cope with the situation. These gifts were dressed and cooked and served to the guests, hundreds of people being fed everyday in this way.

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Moneyed people and their servants today.

So while there were rich people in the past, the way their riches was spent was such that it did not irritate or antagonise the poor by ignoring their existence or subjecting them to humiliations. Moreover, a servant in those days was very different from a servant in our own time : he lived in the family, he served as though he were part and parcel of it. There were distinctions, to be sure ; for instance the servant or his children were not acceptable in marriage in the master's family. All the same, conditions of life in those days were such that the social difference between the master and his servant was not so pronounced, not so galling. If the master travelled in a carriage the servant sat by his side, or he rode behind in another carriage, less pretentious, of course, but very similar. When the master travelled on horseback, his servant followed him similarly mounted, though on a horse of lesser quality. When it was hot and stuffy both perspired and gasped for breath as they toiled along ; when it rained both were equally drenched to the skin. In contrast to these rough and ready conditions of life we have now the de-luxe pullman car, air conditioned, and the stuffy third class compartment, packed like a tin of sardines.

This staggering contrast applies, with an equally poisonous effect, to the entire field of life as lived by the rich and poor in our own day. Take dress. The rich man has his morning suit, his lounge suit, his dress clothes, golfing suit, riding breeches, hunting suit, yachting costume, his heavy winter coats and light summer flannels to choose from according to his needs or the mood of the moment ; whereas the poor man feels the cold winter blasts go right through him as he hurries home in the evening, water from the wet street squelching into his boots through holes in the worn out soles. Or you may take their homes—the extensive acres which surround stately mansions ; their woodland parks ; trim lawns ; flower gardens, abalze

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with colour ; the soaring, sweepingly lines of the marble palace set in the middle of this bewitchery of colours and exotic perfumes. And decorations in the interior : souvenirs of the chase, heads and horns from distant lands, in themselves signs of untold wealth and limitless leisure ; thick carpets and the heavy draping folds of expensive tapestries ; thin transparent curtains of costly muslins and silks ; the sheen and polish of dinner services ; pictures ; family portraits ; the endless luxury of drawing rooms, dining rooms and bed rooms. And think in comparison of the wretched hovels of the poor. No wonder then that the poor man sees these things and the iron enters into his soul.

Heightened susceptibilities.

Moreover, the poor now are no longer thick-skinned and stolid ; they have begun to feel, and feel very deeply. Formerly wealth was taken to come from God ; when a man had to go hungry or naked, it was the Will of God that he should be so. But modern education has radically altered this time-old view, substituting for it the belief that the ill-gotten gains of the rich are responsible for the hunger and want and misery suffered by the poor. This altered vision has brought bitterness in its wake and a haunting desire to hit out and wreak vengeance. The poor no longer blame God for the privations which are their common lot ; they see in them the sinister scheming hand of the capitalist who despoils them at every turn and tries to kick them into the gutter.

Mechanical inventions have added more to the wealth of the rich than to the well-being of the poor.

The problem of the rich and poor is as old as the human race itself, but it was never so pressing as it is today. Philosophers and thinkers in the past had deluded themselves with the belief that as the human race progressed and civilisation ploughed deeper into the heart of man, things would tend to

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improve the lot of the poor. These hopes rose higher on the dawn of the era of mechanical inventions. But the dream has not been fulfilled. The machine has added to the poor man's income a little, but it has added far more in proportion to the rich man's wealth, so that the painful contrast between the rich and the poor has become even sharper.

Efforts to improve the poor man's lot.

All this should not be taken to imply that no effort has ever been made to improve the lot of the poor. A philanthropist here, a philosopher there, a virtuous statesman or a noble-hearted king, has always existed who had a fellow feeling for the poor and was eager to do something for them. But the malady was too world-wide and too deep for individual, isolated, sporadic reforms to produce any appreciable lasting effect. In spite of all that has been done, life for the rich is a routine of luxuries, enjoyment, and no toil ; while for the poor it is one long drawn out misery from the cradle to the grave. Millions die of starvation and malnutrition while basketfuls of the choicest viands are lifted daily off the rich man's table to be thrown to his dogs. And the irony of the situations lies in the fact that the moneyed people cannot right this wrong in a hurry, even if they would. Dining in his palace the rich man most often does not even know that far off somewhere in the deep mountain snows a poor widow's only child is dying of hunger. The millionaires in Calcutta or Delhi, London or Paris or New York, are at a disadvantage in the matter of carrying relief to the poor. Their life is too far removed from the poor man's world—his needs, his joys and sorrows. The rich man is often unaware of the existence of the poor man right under the shadow of his wall ; how can he be aware of the existence of the poor in far off places ? And when he is not even aware of their existence, how can he give them relief ?

When a rich man falls ill, he gets the best medical

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treatment—expert attendance and all the pharmaceutical and surgical experience of physicians and surgeons. He can afford to call doctor after doctor, and buy drug after drug when he is not even ill, when he only fancies that he is not up to par. On the other side of the picture, a poor woman's only child falls ill and the miserable creature begs from door to door for a copper or two to buy the poor mite a dose of some homely remedy, or make him a bowl of some nourishing broth. But she only gets kicks and curses for her pains till at last the shivering, moaning thing dies in her arms and her world darkens for ever. This is not imagination ; this is not even exaggeration : if you look carefully around you, you will find such cases in your own village or town. The pain, the misery, and the helplessness of the poor which these cases denote is unfathomable and too withering in effect to be forgotten by those who go through the searing experience.

Pitiable condition of the poor.

Once a poor old woman came to me. She made a long and very humble introductory speech to tell me that she had come to me with very high hopes, entreating me again and again not to disappoint her. I asked her what I could do for her and promised that I would do it if at all it were in my power. But instead of telling me anything she again started to harp on the same old strings. " Please do not disappoint me ; if you turn me away, I have no one to turn to. The matter is of the utmost importance." And so on. It occurred to me that perhaps the poor creature had a son or a daughter to marry off but had no money to defray the necessary expenses, and might want, say, a fifty rupees. So I pressed her to tell me what she wanted ; and she would make ready to do so, but then shy back from giving utterance to her request as though herself staggered by its immensity. When it came out at last, I was mentally left dumb with horror. She wanted just eight annas—no more. The effect of this incident

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upon my mind was very deep and painful. The money she needed was such a paltry and insignificant amount that her hesitancy in naming it meant possibly only two things. Either to her eight annas was such a huge fortune that she did not expect to find any one prepared to hand it over to her as a gift. Or her experience of mankind was such that she practically was in despair of ever finding some one capable of such generosity and largeness of heart. This idea gave me a great shock and shook me to the core of my being.

The condition of this poor old woman, economical as well as psychological, is typical of millions upon millions of poor in the widé world. This is their estimate of the fellow-feeling and the generosity of the rich towards less fortunate human beings. When such is their suffering and such their experience of the callousness of those whom they see rolling in luxuries, how can they help feeling wild against this wealth ? How can they help an insane desire to smash and destroy madly in a world peopled by such soulless creatures ?

Some movement in favour of the poor : Democracy.

This shocking state of affairs is by no means a recent development ; it is an old sore ; and, as I have said, various attempts have been made to heal it ; but, unfortunately, without any appreciable effect so far. Late in the 18th century this question became a problem of great academic interest, and the new wave of a rising political consciousnesss among the common people was given the name of Democracy. The demand for Democracy (*i.e.* due share for the common people in the government of the country) was in fact a virtual admission that the problem was too big for individual enterpriseoved that the lot of the poor could not be much improved unless the common people themselves were given a hand in the task of running the affairs of the country so that they should keep an eye on their own interests. A man living in a big town did not

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have adequate means for finding out the number and addresses of those who were destitute in that town, much less in that country. But the government of the country could easily keep these statistics. So this movement in favour of the poor sought to throw on the government the responsibility for looking after them and to give to the common man a voice in the councils of the government.

Trade Unions.

In the beginning these men chosen to represent the common man's point of view came mostly from the class connected with land and this was the class, primarily, that benefitted most from the change. This led to the development of political consciousness in another class of common people—handicraftsmen and artisans. They banded themselves together in "Trade Unions" to look after their common interests. The movement which made this development possible is known as Liberalism.

Socialism and International Socialism

The third step was the growth of political consciousness in the proletariat—the millions of unskilled labourers that worked in workshops, factories and on the land, or as petty clerks in offices This change came about as a natural consequence of the rise of landed proprietors and Trade Unions, and was the beginning of the political experiment known as Socialism.

But it was soon realised that these attempts to make life happier and fuller for the poor were not on a commensurate scale. Poverty was not confined to France or Germany or England, or to the East or West alone. It was world-wide and a world-wide organisation was therefore needed to cope with it. International Socialism rose from the need that the poor everywhere should unite into one political brotherhood to fight for their rights simultaneously everywhere. Another factor which helped this development was that it was found that capitalists in

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England, for instance, were helping capitalists in France to keep the poor people down. The poor people, too, therefore, decided to knit themselves together into a world-wide organisation.

Principles of Marxian Philosophy.

Karl Marx was a German philosopher of Jewish extraction, though he was a Christian by religion. He gave earnest thought to the problems which cluster round the question of Capital and Labour. The slow pace of reforms led him to the conclusion that the method of persuading the capitalists to give to Labour a square deal was not satisfactory as it might easily take centuries. The real difficulty he thought was that those who held the reins of government, they were not inclined to move in the matter and were wasting time needlessly. He, therefore, began to advocate violent upheavals, advising the proletariat to rise up in a mass and seize the government by sheer force, ruthless if need be.

Marxism is only a kind of International Socialism which advocates force to bring about economic changes in the structure of society, and advises the seizure of political power so that economic reforms may be made possible. Its second distinctive feature is the view that for the proletariat to hope for any real change through co-operation with the capitalists is wrong. The capitalist is too much in love with his ill-gotten gains and too long used to them to part easily and willingly with the power which these gains have put into his hands. Marxism condemns the capitalist to be flung violently aside—to be despised and ground down into the mire even as he has been grinding down and despising the poor for so long.

Karl Marx held the view that in the race for gaining political power the Trade Unions and the smaller landed proprietors had outstripped the proletariat, who were in any case too long cowed down to be able to hold firmly the reins of government, even should these be put into their hands. By some clever device they could soon be bluffed or hood-

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winked or bullied into surrendering that power back to their oppressors. Until they had been properly educated and a backbone put into them, the proletariat, therefore should not be allowed to exercise their power directly. They should first have a dictator,[1] strong and clever, to cope with the wiles of the capitalists, and when the position and authority of the proletariat was firmly established, only then should power be put into its hands to be exercised by it directly.

It is said there was once a groom who was dissatisfied with the wages his master paid him, but he could not pluck up courage to ask for an increase. However, driven by dire need he at last steeled himself for the ordeal. When the master returned from his morning ride, he approached him and began boldly and definitely : "It is impossible for me, Sir, to make two ends meet with the wage I get here. I cannot bear this situation any longer. Either you must increase my pay or.....".

But the master, here, looked sternly at the groom and raised his whip : "Or you will do what ?" he demanded in a thundering voice.

And terrified out of his wits the poor servant meekly replied that otherwise, of course, he would go on as before—working for the same wages !

There is a point in this story. After centuries passed in slavery, all sense of self-respect and self-confidence dies out and the case of the untouchables of India makes this point amply clear. When you talk to the *Chamars* and the *Chuhras*, trying to kindle in them some spark of self-respect, some confidence and hope in regard to their future, the result invariably is a peculiar smile which tells you mildly that you, maybe, are off the screw to talk of these things. "Having been made by God what we are, how can we expect our lot to change," they reply

1. What Karl Marx called "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" has in operation become the dictatorship of individuals—of a Lenin or a Stalin—*Ed.*

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gently and resignedly, and there you have to leave the matter.

This mental inertia, this loss of self-confidence and hope, this stupid timidity drove Karl Marx to the conclusion that situated as they were after centuries of oppression, the poor were not in a fit condition to exercise and retain their rightful powers. During the interim period, therefore, they should have a strong capable dictator to educate them, to breed into them self-reliance and the power to resist oppression. When this was done, all the power should be placed in the hands of the proletariat.

Lenin and his comrades

Karl Marx died in 1883, but his views took deep root in Russia where under the Tsarist regime the condition of the poor was unspeakable. There a party of bold and desperate young men took up the work of secretly organising the proletariat, one among whom was Lenin, who in time dominated the whole group. They put Marxian theories into practical shape and fired the mind of the masses. As a result of intense propaganda by these secret bands a searing, smouldering anger took hold under the surface which led to the overthrow of the Tsarist regime in 1917, and the first Proletarian Dictatorship in the history of mankind was put on its trial.

But before this happened, when leaders of the revolution felt the crash coming, they held a council to decide the line of action they should take after power had come into their hands. Opinions expressed showed a split and the group divided into two: the Mensehviks, or the minority group headed by Martoff ; and the Bolsheviks, or the majority group, dominated by Lennin.

The Difference between Lenin and Martoff

Lenin had a marked tendency to adhere rigidly to the Marxian principles, and it was an axiom with him not to mix the revolutionary party with any lukewarm elements. Martoff on the other hand was

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of the opinion that they should co-operate with all who wanted a change. Lenin seemed to perceive that the uncertain, half-hearted, hesitating elements would only damp down the fire of the revolution and land the whole enterprise in a morass. He therefore wanted the party to work single-handed and to go boldly forward to the logical extremes without flinching.

Secondly, true to the Marxian idea, he advocated dictatorship during the early stages of Proletarian Rule, while Martoff favoured the view that from the very outset the people should have the power put into their hands. Martoff seems to have sensed that if there was to be a dictator Lenin would be chosen, not he; and quite possibly this consideration had a share in shaping his views.

Thirdly, in accordance with socialist principles Martoff wanted capital punishment to be abolished in the new regime. Lenin, however, vehemently opposed this on the ground of the pressing need of the moment, though in theory he was in agreement with Martoff. Lenin contended that if capital punishment was abolished, it would be impossible to hang the overthrown Tsar, and his continued life would constitute a serious danger to the liberties newly won.

The majority of votes upheld Lenin and the Bolsheviks came into power. The minor revolutionary groups in the country either accepted their authority or they were put down with a firm hand.

Bolshevik principles and their consequences

It should be kept in mind that the idea behind the Russian revolutionary movement was to remove the disabilities of the poor and to put an end to their sufferings—the idea that the poor had an equal right to be properly housed, properly clothed, properly fed, properly educated and medically taken care of during illness.

1. So as to be in a position to satisfy the needs of the poor, Bolshevism decided to take from every-

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body according to his power to pay. Suppose one man had ten acres of land and another a hundred acres. Out of the produce of this land the Bolshevik principle would allow to each farmer just enough to maintain him and his family and to cover the cost of working that land. The surplus in both cases, large or small, whether due to the industry and application of the farmer or only accidental, would all be appropriated by the government.

2. Secondly, they decided that those who did not have enough, they should be given according to their needs.

3. Thirdly, they decided to exercise control over the location of industry and types of agriculture. To grow wheat on soil not suitable for this crop was a national loss and so was failure to cultivate cotton in areas suited for the purpose. The Bolshevik regime took upon itself to advise the farmer on what to sow and where to sow.

4. Fourthly, pure intellectual work was put at a discount. It was decided that all intellectual workers must do some manual labour for their upkeep or just be left to starve.

5. Fifthly, offensive measures were judged to be the best method of defence. In other words, in order to safeguard the results of the Russian Revolution, it was decided to launch an all out world-wide attack against Capitalism and its exploitations of the poor.

Put into practice these principles meant confiscation to the State of private property of all kinds, and effective steps were taken along these lines towards the removal of hunger and want in the case of manual labourers. As for the priests and their likes who had been fattening on the land, they were given the choice either to do some manual work or starve.

The cardinal principles of Russian Communism are state ownership of the means of production, the creation of a classless way of living designed to ensure for all a decent standard of living conditions, and to

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work assiduously for a revolution along these lines all over the world. In a way there is sound common-sense in these principles, and the sense of moral responsibility for the well-being of the poor represents a great advance upon the heartless indifference towards the sufferings of the poor under Capitalistic regimes. But collective farming under state control deprived the peasantry of the freedom of individual action, exposing them to great hardships in many cases ; and Communism from the outset ranged itself in opposition to Religion. Contempt for the clergy was one way in which this opposition expressed itself. Another form it took was sublter and more far reaching in effect. It was decided to give complete individual liberty in the matter of religion and to debar parents and teachers from throwing any kind of religious influence upon growing children, so that their judgment and choice on growing up should be absolutely free and unhampered. At first sight this idea seems plausible and fair, but hidden underneath is a tremendous fallacy. Keeping a growing child from religious influence only stamps atheism upon his mind, and when he grows up his judgment in regard to religion, instead of being free, is deeply biased against it ; so that the slate is closely written over, not left clean.

The Bolsheviks in pursuit of their aim of World Revolution, lost no time in sending their agents abroad to spread their doctrines. In Germany, Italy, Austria, Hungary, France, Japan, and many other countries, their propaganda became very active. Outside Russia the Bolsheviks are spoken of as Communists, and followers of this political teaching are to be met with in the Punjab too, as well as the other provinces of India. In popular presentation the movement seeks to guarantee for each according to his needs and to level up class distinctions. Therefore its influence began to spread all over the world with the speed of a wild prairie fire, sharply throwing up in reaction a number of political movements in Germany, in Spain, in Italy and Japan.

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Rise of Fascism

The central idea in Communist political philosophy is Internationalism with equal living conditions for all—a philosophy which runs entirely counter to imperial exploitation upon which Germany, Spain, Italy and Japan had set their hearts. These countries had long waited patiently for the great French and British empires to decline and crumble through age ; and now when their great opportunity seemed just round the corner these demagogues had sprung up to spoil their game by teaching that all should have equal rights and an equal share in the wealth at the disposal of mankind. Naturally, therefore, Communism failed to win favour in the eyes of national leaders in "have not" countries who were dreaming of carving out great portions for their countries from the general loot. Hilter's Nazi Party in Germany, Mussolini's Fascism in Italy and Franco's Falangistas in Spain were all manifestations of the same selfish and narrow national aims which sprang in the wake of a world war ending in a lopsided peace.

These three movements had a common aim in their deep seated opposition to Communism, for Communism by its powerful popular appeal threatened to engulf all their hopes and ambitions. The poorer classes everywhere were coming to regard Communism with favour for it promised to look after them—to house them, to feed them, to clothe them, to give them medical aid when they fell ill : and the lure of this distant drum was proving too strong for many. Many people in India too have become enamoured of this political philosophy. They seem to think that in Russia Government officials go among the poor distributing bread and garments and everything else which the poor stand in need of. It does not seem to occur to these people that Communism promises to do these things only if you allow it to destroy the present regime wholesale. Nor that the surplus in every case then would belong to the State.

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In Germany and Italy too, Communism began to find favour with the masses, so that, in order to take the wind out of its sails, Hitler and Mussolini said that Nazism and Fascism too would exercise control over property, industry and commerce, and see that the poorer classes were given their due share out of the proceeds of their labour. But Fascist philosophy did not view with favour labour's right to go on strike, for the damage done by strikes to national interests was often irreparable. The key plank in Fascist theories was national glorification and national aggrandisement through a policy of strict control at home and imperial conquests abroad. From national glorification the step to regard one's own nation as a super-race was natural and easy. The Germans became the heaven-folk, but in extolling the virtues of pure Aryan blood Hitler only walked in the footsteps of Pandit Dayanand. Hitler's hatred of the Jews was inspired by his fear of Soviet Russia where the Jews wielded considerable influence, and Nazi Germany's desire to liquidate them was conceived as a safety measure designed to eliminate the danger of a stab in the back from a potential "fifth column".

The need for rigid control at home which was an axiom of Fascist philosophy also gave rise to the desire to drive out of the country all foreign influences. Nazi sentiment began to frown upon Christianity as it frowned upon the Jews, and German leaders of note like General Ludendorff began to turn their thoughts to the revival of pagan rites in vogue among the Germans before this warlike race went over to Christianity. Mussolini, too, tried, in one disguise or another, to curb the power of the Vatican, for to the Italian Fascist State the Papacy too was a foreign element.

To sum up then, there are three great movements afoot in the world today which profess to work with a view to the removal of poverty and suffering. There is Socialism as understood by the great "have" nations like Great Britain, France and

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the United States of America. It seems to give to the poor their rights and a voice in the government by a slow and gradual process. This movement is quite old as compared with the two others and consequently it has had ample time to be able to show some results, for in these countries the poor enjoy a standard of life which in India is unknown even to the comparatively rich. This they have achieved partly by paying some special attention to the needs of the poor, and partly by raising the standard of life for the whole nation through overseas trade and the "development" of backward areas abroad.

But this movement has one great drawback; its sympathy is reserved for the poor in its own countries really. It seeks to give a good impression to the subject races but it is not prepared to part with the power these countries possess over the conquered races. They are prepared to feed the subject peoples as one feeds a horse or a mule, so that it should haul and carry better—no more, no less. Socialism as conceived by the great "have" countries, by hidden intent, is deeply National; its Internationalism is only a convenient device to make the hunting grounds safe for itself, to keep intruders away. Moreover, material progress for it is all in all; it has turned its back upon religion and all those spiritual values without which man is little better than a mere powerful brute. It is not actively ranged against religion, it is true; where possible it does not hesitate to use it as a convenient tool: but it has no sympathy for religion and no real use for it.

Communism and its defects

The second movement is the one which holds sway in Russia. The basic points in this philosophy are: non-recognition of individual effort as the sole measure to determine one's share in the economic returns of labour; state ownership of wealth and the means of production, guarantee of a certain decent standard of living for the manual workers,

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the surplus out of the proceeds of their labour belonging to the state in every case ; repression and the gradual extinction of intellectual workers and the clergy as parasites of society ; rationalisation of the means of production on an unprecedented scale ; removal of religious instruction from the curriculum of schools and colleges ; and world-wide propaganda to make the movement universal. This movement, known as Bolshevism in Russia or as Communism elsewhere professes to champion the cause of the poor but for a considerable time to come it, too, is not prepared to put any real power into the hands of the masses. It has a number of grave drawbacks besides, chief among them being :

1. It has put individual effort at a discount because under the Soviet regime individual effort is shorn of its rightful gains beyond a certain standard which in any case is ensured even without extra effort. Psychologically, therefore, it damps ardour and, by doing so reduces productive potentiality. This Bolshevik principle, if allowed to operate for a sufficiently long time, will prevent people from taking real interest in their work and by and by intellectual powers and technical skill would be set on the downward grade.

2. By resorting to force and violence this movement has thrown open the door to bloodshed and a general disturbance of the peace. A gradual readjustment would have served the purpose better ; but sudden drastic changes in the standards of life to which the higher classes were accustomed have sown the seeds of a thousand new discords and violent hatreds. For a change to be successful it is important that it should take place in a congenial atmosphere, prepared for the occasion if necessary. A good gardener would transplant only in particular seasons because at other times conditions of heat and humidity being unfavourable the operation does not succeed. But Communism, in the changes it seeks to bring about, ignores this prime factor. The result is that such of the old nobility as could manage to

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flee, left the country and settled abroad, where they seldom miss an opportunity to injure the interests of Soviet Russia, for which purpose many international conspiracies are hatched from time to time.

3. Thirdly, by their opposition to religion the Communists have alienated the sympathy of all those people who attach any importance to the spiritual progress of man.

4. Communism expresses itself through a regime based upon dictatorship. Thus, while it professes to champion the cause of freedom for the masses, it begins by depriving them of that very freedom. "Dictatorship of the proletariat" has degenerated in practice into the dictatorship of a Lenin and a Stalin, of which the end is not anywhere in sight. After Stalin might come a Molotoff and then some one else. To all intents and purposes, therefore, Communism delivers the world, bound hand and foot, into the power of ruthless dictators to be experimented upon according to the political whims of persons or parties.

5. The aggregate result of a State operating on Communist principles is to raise a barrier in the path of intellectual and scientific progress. In the first place, when a man knows that even if he should become a first class writer or scientist or a topmost engineer, he would get no more than the bare basic wage of the community, he naturally ceases to aspire to these positions. From the points of view of the ordinary man there is no sense in burning the midnight oil when at the end there is no prospect of any better life than is lived by the village duffer no more brainy than the horses and the mules he works among. For intellectual and scientific progress, moreover, travel in foreign lands is necessary to fire the imagination—to give new ideas through contact with fresh minds and unfamiliar points of view. This need cannot be fulfilled by a few men going abroad after being selected by red tape methods; it demands a general wandering urge which cannot adequately develop or be satisfied in a

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nation in which there is no leisured class at all. Human capabilities are not confined to any one country or race ; they are distributed all over the world. The white races are a very scientific people and their technical skill is second to none. But their fine textile mills have failed to produce the Dacca muslins which Indian artisans, not so long ago, made with their hands. With all the advance made by chemical research the art of mummification, so common in ancient Egypt, remains unknown to Europe and America. In the Mughal Fort at Delhi, it is said, there was a *Hammam* that was so constructed as to be heated up by the ordinary flame of a single oil lamp. After the Fort had been taken over by the British, some curious officer had it dismantled in a vain attempt to solve this riddle of engineering skill ; but once pulled down the *Hammam* could not be restored.

So different brains and different nations have capacities for different kinds of achievment and frequent contact among them conduces to the enrichment of the human race as a whole, as well as of its different units. Foreign travel on a big scale is therefore necessary for continued progress. That is one reason why the Holy Quran lays such particular stress upon its injunction to travel in the land if one has the means.

It should be noted that the staffs of ambassies and consulates in foreign countries can not satisfy the need for foreign travel because they cannot yield the desired result. They are men set in a particular mould, their vision being stereotyped and limited. This national need is adequately met only if lawyers, doctors, engineers, scientists, soldiers, sailors, painters and poets all travel out and back as moved by their natures, each bringing back his bit to enrich the nation.

6. Another great defect of Communism is that in seeking the suppression and annihilation of the higher classes it deprives the country of the services of a cousiderable portion of the productive power

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of the nations, and causes the rise of violent mutual hatreds, thirsting for each other's blood.

7. And, last of all, the worst of Communism is that its downfall would be a dangerous and unprecedented calamity. In other regimes if one king dies another steps into his shoes ; if one parliament is dissolved another is formed immediately to take its place. Should Communism fail however, there would be no half-way house between it and a reversion to despotism more absolute than that of the autocratic Tsars. For in Communism there is no system or machinery for representative government. This was what happened after the French Revolution when a mass movement eventually led to the despotic rule of Napoleon, for among those who clamoured for equal rights there was no one of a calibre big enough to control the violent forces let loose.

Defects of Nationalist Socialism

The third movement, which found root in Germany and Italy is called National Socialism. Its aim is to give to the poor some of their rights and it does not seek to crush individual exceptional capability by ignoring it completely. National Socialists rather seek to nurse such capabilities. But their obsession with their ideas of a super-race in regard to themselves makes them blind to the capabilities of other races. Their endeavour, therefore, is to relieve the distress of the poor in their own country and to impoverish the other races so that the Heaven-folk should have ample scope to bring out the best in them. Japan joined this group sometime before the war.

1. The foremost defect of this movement is its partiality for certain races to the detriment of the interests of others. As long as the Germans lived and thrived, Hitler would not mind if the rest of the world starved and went to perdition. The good of all is not the aim of National Socialism.

2. It has no room in its scheme of things for

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religious progress and spiritual peace. On the contrary it seeks to impose restrictions upon religious experience—a fact which shows the poor value it attaches to religion, for a religion that would admit of man-made restrictions cannot be much of a religion at all. Religion comes from God and He alone is entitled to make rules and regulations in this sphere of man's life.

3. Thirdly, National Socialism gives to the individual personality of its supreme leader a weight and preponderance so grossly out of all proportion that the voice and will of the entire nation has no significance in comparison. This is wrong, for however brilliant a leader may be, he well may miss a point which others in humbler positions might see. The Islamic constitution makes consultation obligatory for the Khalifa. In ordinary circumstances he should accept the opinion tendered to him in such consultations, and reject it only when the matter was of transcending importance and the opinion tendered likely to cause great harm. The Islamic Sharia, thus, gives full scope to the national mind and the mind of the leader to exercise itself upon the problems in hand and then leaves the better vision and higher intellect of the leader unhampered to choose a course.

The Present war and its outcome

In any case these movements are defective, for in one thing or another they go to extremes ; and, in doing so, swing out of a proper equilibrium, the present dreadful war being the natural evil fruit of the violent, conflicting tendencies which these movements nurtured in their particular spheres. Great Britain, France and the United States of America want to sit tight upon what they hold ; while the National Socialist countries and the Communists, each for its own aims, desire a general reshuffling of the cards. The Parliamentary Socialism of the 'haves', which usually goes by the name of Democracy, is fighting to hold securely its far flung interests ;

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while Berlin and Rome took up the sword to carve out a world of their own. The Germans by a shrewd diplomatic stroke concluded a non-aggression pact with Moscow to enable them to turn all their energies to the subjugation of France and Great Britain. But when France was laid low and German armies marched victorious wherever they went, Hitler found himself forced by the exigencies of the situation to turn his panzer divisions against the Russian collossus which he thought was hollow inside and rotten at the heart. The British Navy stood between him and the invasion of England; his bombers were shot out of the sky over London; and his formidable military machine stood to rust or get out of control if he failed to devise some plan to keep it busy. So he decided to smash Russia in a side show while he prepared for the final round with his arch-enemy across the "ditch". But when Russia was attacked by Germany the Parlimentary Socialism of Great Britain joined hands with Russian Communism in order to beat down a common foe. Thus we get the three movements divided into two camps—National Socialism ranged against the other two. Should National Socialism come out victorious, the poor in Germany, Italy, Spain and Japan would be better off; but the poor people all over the rest of the world would sink deeper into misery. Following an Axis victory, poverty might well disappear from the Axis countries but its grim spectre would stalk the rest of the world with a surer and still more devastating tread. Should the Democracies win, on the other hand, a part of the world would get partial political freedom and India, too, would get a measure of such independence. But freedom from commercial and industrial exploitation is another matter. For this India, along with the other countries similarly placed, would have to embark on a protracted struggle. Not only the old diehards stand in the way of such liberty being extended to the subject races but the so-called liberals as well, for with the slipping away of foreign markets the high standards of life in London and New York are

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bound to flop down. All the same, comparatively speaking, the down-trodden world has more to gain from an Allied victory than from a triumph of the Axis Powers.

India's gain in British victory

My opinion on this question, which I have often expressed before, is this: that Indian interests shall suffer enormously if Germany wins. On the other hand, should the Allies win, India would decidedly gain a good deal, even though she might not gain all her aspirations. Generally speaking, the view is held in our country that as long as we must be slaves it was immaterial whether we were the slaves of x or y or z. But this is an erroneous view. The Democracies have had the economic resources of the world at their disposal for a long time now. They are fat and well fed, likely to feel the need of an afternoon nap: they have lost to some extent their original enterprise and vigour, or at any rate they do not suffer from the gnawing driving pangs of raw hunger. But the Germans, the Italians and the Japanese are like a healthy peasant with keen animal appetites, minus the moral restraints which spring from sophistication or a deep-seated mellow culture. The democracies are like an old trader who has amassed enough fortune to exceed even his wildest dreams. He remains a miser, no doubt, for all the glittering heaps of gold lying at his feet; and an addition to his millions is of course never unwelcome to him. But there are situations in which he is quite content if he can only maintain the *status quo*—when he ceases to desire any more through a shrewd guess that such a desire before long might prove to be uncomfortable—unhealthy. But the behaviour of the Axis nations in the hour of their victory would be the behaviour of hungry giants with limitless appetites who would gobble up everything they might be able to lay their hands upon, without troubling themselves about such niceties as ownership or moral rights.

The Democracies, moreover, sedulous-

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clear of interference in the religious matters of subject countries : except in cases of dire need they never resort even to indirect pressure in the religious sphere. Therefore, so long as we are convinced that there is any real value in religion, so long as we feel that without religion there is no real peace and progress for mankind, we, any day, would prefer an Allied victory, even though the political integrity of these powers in regard to their conquered or overawed territories is not nearly as high as we should like it to be.

Victory of Bolshevism and its consequences

All the same, we must not lose sight of the fact that, placed as these forces are, British victory also means the victory of Bolshevism. And Bolshevism is more deadly in its opposition to religion than Nazi Germany. An Anglo-Saxon victory, thus, would undoubtedly free the world from the tyranny of National Socialism, but at the same time a new tug-of-war shall begin between the spiritual forces on one side and irreligion on the other.

CONCEPTION OF THE VARIOUS WORLD RELIGIONS IN REGARD TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF A NEW ORDER

So far we have studied the plans and programmes of prominent political movements. Let us now turn to the world's great religions.

The most prominent religions are Hinduism, Christianity, Judaism, and Islam. The followers of all these religions claim to have ideas on the construction of a New Order, and these ideas they claim to derive from the teaching of their respective religions. Each claims that his religion holds the best remedy for all the social and political evils this world is suffering from. In their new born zeal all are seeing dreams of revival and world ascendance. The Hindus think they are going some day soon to plant the banner of Hinduism in Mecca. The Jews think the religion of Moses [illegible]best, and the rising hopes of Zion girdle the

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whole globe. The Christians believe that the Sermon on the Mount represents the climax of Man's spiritual progress, while the Muslims proclaim that the future of the human race is dark unless all pay heed to the teachings of Islam. The point here is not what these religions have to say about prayer and fasting and other devotional practices. The object of this study is to discover how they propose to meet those problems of poverty and suffering which have given rise to the political movements we have been discussing in the previous pages.

Jewish conception of the New Order.

Let us begin with Judaism. The Jewish conception of a New Order is strictly, rigidly national and narrow: there is nothing Universal in it. For instance Judaism proclaims that the children of Jacob alone are dear to God, the rest having been created only to serve them as slaves. Should Judaism obtain a grip over the world and proceed to put these ideas into practice, poverty, suffering and oppression would not decrease. They would definitely increase. For instance, Judaism teaches that one should not charge usury from his brethren but he is free to do so from others.[2] If the charging of usury is immoral, there seems no reason why it should be permissible from a stranger, *i.e.* a non-Jew. Judaism, thus, is first and foremost a nationalist religion; it concerns itself only with the well-being of the Jews, being prepared to impoverish others so that the Jews should be enriched. Judaism lays a certain amount of stress upon charity and alms, but takes care to stipulate that these are to be distributed among the Jews alone. Evidently, therefore, should the Jewish system come to prevail in the world, the government's duty under it would be to collect taxes from all non-Jewish subjects and distribute them among the Jews.

Further, Judaism teaches not that one should enslave no one, but that one should not enslave *one's brother for ever*. All Jewish slaves must be

(2) Deut. 23 : 19-20. Lev. 25 : 35-37

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set free after seven years of captivity.[3] As for the non-Jewish slaves there is no provision for restoring them to liberty at all. For all it mattered to Judaism they could rot in slavery to the end of their miserable lives.

Moreover, the Jewish teaching in regard to dealings with non-Jews is very harsh and heartless, as may well be judged from the following.

> When thou comest nigh unto a city to fight against it, then proclaim peace unto it. And it shall be, if it make thee answer of peace, and open unto thee, then it shall be that all the people that is found therein shall be tributaries unto thee and they shall serve thee. And if it will make no peace with thee, but will make war against thee, then thou shalt besiege it. And when the Lord thy God hath delivered it into thine hands thou shalt smite every male thereof with the edge of the sword. But the women, and the little ones, and the cattle, and all that is in the city, even all the spoil thereof, shalt thou take unto thyself and thou shalt eat the spoil of thine enemies, which the Lord thy God hath given thee. Thus shalt thou do unto all the cities which are very far off from thee, which are not of the cities of these nations.[4]

This is in regard to countries other than the Holy Land. In regard to the Promised Land the order is :—

> But of the cities of these people which the Lord thy God doth give thee for an inheritance thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth.[5]

This then would be the fate in store for the whole world should Judaism become supreme. All the males would be put to the sword, and all women and children made into slaves. In Canaan, however, all the Christians, Muslims, pagans, even animals and insects, would be utterly destroyed—"*thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth*".

In this New Order the Jews of course would be blithely happy, but fire and sword would be the portion of the rest of the world.

Message of Christianity.

The message of Christianity, when you boil it

(3) Deut. 15 : 12. 21 : 2 & Lev. 25 : 39-46.
(4) Deut 20:10-15.
(5) Deut. 20.16.

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ingly talk of the Brotherhood of Man and call it Christianity !

Christianity thus is like a model in wax which clever fingers in a few minutes can remould to look like anything that might happen to be the craze of the moment.

So Christianity has no programme. From the very nature of things described above it cannot have a programme, and will never have.

Hinduism and the New Order.

By taking its stand on the theory of transmigration of soul and the four *varnas* Hinduism has definitely slammed the door against any possibility of a better order *at any time*, no matter how remote. As long as transmigration of soul is held to be a fact you can never hope to construct a New Order capable of levelling up distinctions between the rich and the poor. For this theory postulates that the poor are born poor as the evil fruit of evil lives lived in a previous existence. If a man is born heir to the absolute powers and endless domains of the Tsar of the great Russias, and another born in a wretched hovel to live out his days as a gutter snipe, it is due to the quality of their actions in a previous life ! No human contrivance can alter their conditions of life for they emanate from the decrees of God to reward the one and punish the other. According to Hindu philosophy, therefore, the sorrow and suffering of the poor comes from God as their portion in life, and as such it is perpetual, changeless and everlasting.

To crown it all, we have in Hinduism the philosophy of the four *varnas* generally known as the four castes. Stated plainly, this philosophy means that a Shudar can never be allowed to do the work of a Brahman, nor a Vaish that of a Shudar. The spheres of work of the Brahman, the Kashatri, the Vaish and the Shudar are entirely separate. The place of each in society, too, is fixed, and nothing can alter the arrangement because it is fixed by unalterable religious sanctions. Evidently, then, as

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long as these sanctions stand, nothing can be done to uplift the poor. Hinduism cannot approve of any Order, old or new, which presumes to give to the lower classes the same rights as enjoyed by the Brahmans. The laws of Manu preclude all possibility of any New Order based upon justice and the equality of man, because these laws stipulate :

> If a Shudar amasses wealth, it is the duty of the Rajah to take it from him, because a Shudar on becoming wealthy becomes a source of trouble for the Brahmans.[6]

This law leaves the three higher classes free to amass any amount of wealth, but the proletariat, *i.e.* the Shudars, may not save anything. If they do, their savings would be taken away from them to enrich the Brahmans still more.

Similarly Manu has enacted :—

> Should a Brahman borrow money from a Shudar but not be able to repay the loan, it is the duty of the Shudar never to ask for payment. On the other hand when a Shudar borrowed from a Brahman but found himself unable to pay back the money, the loan should in no case be written off. The Shudar should work for the higher classes and pay the loan from the wages thus earned.[7]

So the poor Shudar cannot even go to court for recovering his money, for the Hindu law courts would not entertain his claim. The Brahman, on the other hand, can always force a Shudar debtor to pay up even if the unfortunate fellow had to break his back fetching and carrying for his heartless masters.

But these funny, one-sided laws do not end here. We are told further that if a man dies :

> His children from his Brahman wife should get three shares from his property, his children from Kashatri wife two shares, his children from Vaish wife one and a half share, and children from his Shudar wife one share.[8]

So we see that the Hindu law of inheritance too keeps the down-trodden Shudar perpetually down. But this is not all ; we are told further that :—

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(6) Manu, Adhyae 9, Shalok 67,
(7) Manu, Adhyae 10, Shalok 53,
(8) Manu, Adhyar 9, Shlok 152.

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The Brahman can snatch away wealth from the Shudar (at any and all times). He need have no hesitation in doing so because the wealth amassed by the Shudar does not really belong to him at all but to the Brahman.[9]

This teaching makes life for the Brahman very easy—in fact a grand gala performance, full of majesty and untold opulence. Wealth is his by right. The proletariat have no sort of claim to it, however hard they might work for it. Their hard earned gains can be confiscated by the Brahman at will.

It should be carefully noted here that leaving the Brahmans, the Kashatris and the Vaishas of India aside, every body else is a Shudar—the Syeds, Mughals, Pathans, Englishmen, Americans, Australians, all. The Brahmans, under the Hindu New Order would thus possess a statutory right to confiscate all the wealth in the world. And there would be no appeal against this confiscation ; there would be no redress whatever.

Here I might caution the reader that it is not my intention to suggest that at the time of their inception such was the teaching of the religions I have been discussing. In their original teaching there was a part that was suited to the times at which they appeared, but has no force now since times have changed. Other portions represent a teaching that was never given by the founders of these religions but has been wrongly imputed to them through later interpolations. In any case these teachings, as they now stand, can give us no help in the construction of a New Order.

Islamic conception of the New Order

Let us now turn to Islam and see how it solves the problem of the poor.

Abolition of Slavery

One form of the problem of the poor, the most

(9) Manu, Adhyar 8, Shlok 417.

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shocking form, is Slavery which means a denial for the slaves of even the most elementary civic rights.

When Islam appeared on the scene Slavery was a settled institution, deeply entrenched in the economic life of every nation, in the East and the West. It was thousands and thousands of years old. But Islam by one bold stroke abolished it completely, and as far as I can see Islam is the only religion to take up the cause of the slaves—a sacred cause because it had so long and so grossly been neglected by mankind. In Judaism and Hinduism Slavery was a regular institution, based on the sanction of religion. It fact it was an integral part of those religions, so that the question of its abolition did not rise at all. It was not permissible, it was unthinkable. Christianity, really speaking, is only a branch of Judaism and it was content to leave the evil as it had found it. When Slavery at last disappeared from the Christian world it was due to a general progress in the science of morals and ethics, not to any influence of Christianity. Had it been due to any Christian influence the development would not have come so long after Christianity had become the dominant religion in Europe. Moreover, Church history bears ample evidence that off and on whenever this problem was pushed forward by circumstances and attempts made to abolish the evil, the clergy by tooth and nail fought against the reform. And Hinduism went one better by perpetuating the the *varnas* (castes) compared with the rigours of which even regular Slavery pales off into insignificance.

Restrictions upon taking Prisoners of War

However, there is one institution in Islam which many people confuse with Slavery. This is the permission to take prisoners of war. But does there exist any nation in the world which in the course of a well fought field makes prisoners during the day from the combatant ranks of the enemy—only to set them all free at sunset so that they should fight

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again in the coming battle on the morrow? Has such a thing ever been heard of? Even in a simple game like *Kabaddi* players who are caught out are not allowed to take part in the game again. When a simple game like *Kabaddi* cannot be played to a decision unless players caught out are debarred from again joining in, how can a war between nations be fought out without making the enemy into prisoners whenever possible? The Holy Quran says :—

> It is not permissible for any Prophet to make prisoners of war unless there is a battle joined and fought.[10]

In these words God has declared that the making of prisoners of war without due reason was not permissible for Muhammad or any other Prophet. It should be noted, too, that by clear implication this verse also bears out that Jewish, Hindu and Christian records have done a great injustice to their respective Prophets by holding the view that they ever made slaves or prisoners of war without an actual battle fought over a just cause. Krishna did not do so, nor Ramchandra, nor Moses, nor any other Prophet of God.

Prisoners can be taken only when there has been *ithkān fil ard*, *i.e.*, a bloody war between nation and nation or country and country. Prisoners of war cannot be made in small affrays between rival families or individual quarrels. "O thou that seekest to take prisoners (without due cause as described above) thou seekest after the riches of the world—not the favour and pleasure of God, while Allah desires that you should seek not a seeming immediate benefit but the final and real gain; and Allah indeed is the Dominant and the Wise." His orders, we are thus told, are always based upon deep wisdom. We are warned against the temptation to make prisoners of war on small unworthy pretexts, the result of which would be that before long we ourselves shall be little better than slaves. And history tells us that those people who made too many slaves, they themsleves came to be known as

(10) The Holy Quran, VIII, 67.

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slaves by and by. Slaves abounded under the Abbasids. Kings of this dynasty were almost always the sons of bondwomen who partook of the psychology of slaves to some extent, even though outwardly they were free and ruled as kings.

Ithkān implies a terrible bloody war. In other words slaves cannot be made in ordinary border affrays of the kind common on the North-West Frontiers of India, for instance. Prisoners can be taken in regular declared wars alone, and no reasonable man would have anything to say against this.

War not permitted except in self-defence.

And in regard to war itself, the Islamic teaching is that no war is permissible except in self-defence, so that it is not open to any one first to embark on an aggressive war and then to start making weaker, un-offending people into prisoners. The Holy Quran says :—

> Permission to fight is given to those upon whom war is made because they are oppressed, and most surely Allah is well able to assist them ;
>
> Those who have been expelled from their homes without a just cause except that they say : Our Lord is Allah. And had there not been Allah's repelling some people by others, certainly cloisters would have been pulled down and churches and synagogues and mosques in which Allah's name is much remembered ; and most surely Allah would help him who helps His cause ; most surely Allah is Strong and Mighty.
>
> Those who, should We establish them in the land, will keep up prayer and pay the poor-rate and enjoin good and forbid evil ; and Allah's is the end of affairs.[11]

Here we find that permission to take up the sword is given to those who have actually been subjected to an attack by the enemy, and the basis of this permission is the wrong and oppression suffered by them. And they are allowed to fight not that they may fight a suicidal war, preferring heroic death on the field, but because Allah is well able to assist

(11) The Holy Quran, XXII, 39-41.

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them, however long the odds against them, for He is indeed Mighty and Wise. His righteous servants, weak, unffending people, were oppressed in the land; they were subjected to the rigours of an unprovoked attack and Allah therefore willed that He succour the weak and the oppressed so that law and order and peace be restored; so that his righteous servants be made strong in the land to put an end to injustice and oppression. In a war fought in self-defence, in circumstances described in this passage, the Muslims are assured of victory through the grace of God, irrespective of the strength of the enemy ranged against them.

It is to be noted that the Holy Quran does not leave this term "oppression" vague and undefined. It is explicit that permission to fight is given to the Muslims because they were "driven from their homes without any just cause," in fact for no worse a crime than that they said "Allah is our Lord." Their offence was no more than this that they had embraced Islam and submitted themselves to the Will of Allah. This was oppression at its worst; interference in a sphere where interference cannot, and should not, be tolerated in any case; interference in religion, in matters of the conscience; interference in the relationship between man and his Creator—denial of freedom for man to worship God according to his lights.

Here is a cause well worth fighting for, and dying for if need be. Islam does not approve of the bleating cry, in the name of love and humanity, that all wars are wrong. This is a form of *ahimsa* in which Islam does not believe. In the defence of what is the most precious thing in life—freedom of thought and worship without which life itself is a meaningless barren waste—the Muslims are expected to fight like men of steel rivetted into an immovable, impassable wall. For, even if this most precious of birth rights is not defended, unscrupulous self-seekers would turn the earth upside down in their mad wrangles over power and the luxuries of life. Nothing would be safe from their depredations.

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The notion is extremely foolish on the part of the Pacifists that by merely renouncing war in a unilateral way, as they do, they can put an end to wars and bloodshed. As long as there remain in the world people who covet what others have got and do not scruple to grab it by force, how can wars disappear? And one might in the last resort even decide to yield up his worldly goods because, as the saying goes, man does not live by bread alone. But there are those in the world whose passion for power over men is not satisfied even then. They try to make the conscience of man subservient to their will; they want the State (of course represented by themselves) to extend its jurisdiction to cover the religious sphere as well. They want the religious beliefs and practices of people to change at a nod of their silly and swollen heads. Whatever else a self-respecting man might tolerate, he can never tolerate interference in religion.

Islam definitely sanctions resistance to interference in religion and promises unqualified succour to those who might have to take up this fight. However weak and helpless, they are assured of success; and their mandate in the hour of victory is "to keep up prayer," "to give to the weak and needy," "to exhort people to do the right," "dissuade them from evil" and to worship God in all humility and love.

Obviously it does not lie in the power of the Muslims in these circumstances to start a war whenever they like and to begin catching prisoners of war. The start depends upon the enemy. If he does not like to fall into the hands of the Muslims as a prisoner, he should not start a war against them. He should leave them alone to think and worship God freely according to their lights—or suffer the penalty of such an interference.

Islamic regulations in regard to the setting at liberty of prisoners of war.

But suppose the enemy starts a war by opening

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an attack, and in the fighting prisoners are taken. What are the Muslims to do with these :—

The Quranic injunction is no less clear on this point :—

> When you meet in battle those who disbelieve, then smite them until you have overcome them, then make them prisoners, and afterwards either set them free as a favour or let them ransom themselves until the war terminates.[12]

In this passage there are two rules to decide the fate of prisoners of war. They should either be set at liberty, as a favour, without paying anything for their freedom ; or be required to pay a proportionate ransom towards the cost of war and then allowed to go free. There is no third alternative. Pending the payment of a due ransom they can be set to work, but they cannot be held indefinitely.

Let us here look for a moment at the international usage in regard to prisoners of war. We know that Hitler has set French prisoners of war to work and the indemnity France has had to pay has been over and above this payment in the form of prisoner labour. The international code does not allow prisoners of war to remain idle. In this regard Islam and the international code stand on the same footing, but Islam scores a big and important point by putting first the desirability of setting prisoners free without ransom, while the international code does not contemplate prisoners being set free without ransom at all.

Promise from a prisoner of war that he would take no part in the remaining operations

It is established on the basis of the practice followed by the Holy Prophet Muhammad in his wars that while setting a prisoner free as a favour it was permissible to demand an undertaking from him that he would thenceforth take no part in the fighting for the duration of the war. After the battle of Badr a prisoner named Abu 'Uzza was set free on

[12] The Holy Quran XLVII : 4.

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giving such an undertaking, but he broke his promise and fought against the Muslims in the battle of Ohad. He was afterwards taken prisoner at Hamra-al-Asad and executed.

Labour from a prisoner of war

The point in taking prisoners whenever possible is to weaken the enemy. Prisoners of war therefore cannot be expected to be treated on a princely scale and not be required to do any work at all, for that would weaken not the enemy but ourselves. All the same, in the matter, too, of demanding work from prisoners of war Islamic teaching is far more lenient and commendable than the international code. Officer prisoners are generally let alone but the rank and file are given arduous work, entailing great hardships for the men. Food and clothing too are far from satisfactory in their case. But Islam enjoins that (1) no prisoner of war should be set a task beyond his power and capacity ; (2) he should be given food of the same quality and quantity which you eat yourself ; (3) and clothed as you clothe yourself.

We are here entitled to ask whether the European Powers and America are treating their prisoners of war on such a fair basis as laid down by Islam ? Companions of the Holy Prophet were so particular and so scrupulous in this regard that on one of the campaigns when supplies ran short, the rations of the prisoners were not allowed to be effected. A prisoner on this occasion reports that the Muslims themselves subsisted only on the stones of dates while the pulp was given to the prisoners. I do not think the history of any other nation can furnish an instance of this kind.

Slaves or prisoners of war should not be maltreated.

Muslims are strictly forbidden to beat a slave or otherwise maltreat him. Should a Muslim suffer his vexation to get the better of him and allow himself to be betrayed by anger into lifting his hand

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against a slave, that slave forthwith is deemed to have been set at liberty. It is on record in the *Hadith* that the Holy Prophet on coming out of his house one day saw one of his Companions beating his slave. That Companion then heard the Holy Prophet saying from behind : "What is this that you are doing ? This is an action of the days of *Jaheliyya*," (literally "ignorance", the reference being to the days of darkness before Islam—*Ed.*). Some people in these days do not scruple to beat and kick their servants. But the Holy Prophet severely rebuked his Companion when he saw him beating his slave. "The power which you posses over this slave", said he "is nothing as compared with the power which God has over you". When that Companion heard this his heart trembled with the fear of God and he said : "I am sorry, O Prophet of God". From this moment I set him free".

"It is a good thing for you that you do so", added the Holy Prophet, "for otherwise your abode would have been in hell".

Another Companion reports : We were seven brothers and we had one female slave On one occasion the youngest of us got annoyed with her and gave her a slap on the face. When the Holy Prophet heard about it, he said that the penalty and recompense for this offence on his part was only one —that the slave should be restored to liberty for the humiliation she had suffered in having been struck.

A slap on the face is not a very serious matter ; people even in this so-called advanced age treat their servants and hired labourers much worse. But the Holy Prophet could not bear even this small maltreatment of slaves. To soothe his wounded sense of dignity, such a slave had to be restored to liberty. There was no lesser penalty, no other recompense that could satisfy the requirements of justice.

Prisoners of war of marriageable age should be married when possible

The Islamic teaching is that prisoners of war of a

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marriageable age should be allowed to marry as far as possible, for no one could say when a war would end. The Holy Quran says :—

> Marry those among you who are single and those who are fit among your male slaves and your female slaves.[13]

Evidently, then, the modern international code in regard to prisoners of war lags behind Islam by a long way. Now-a-days even wives are not allowed to join their husbands, and there is no question of marriages being arranged among prisoners of war in the hands of Germany or Japan, or even the Allies, for the matter of that. In contrast to this much vaunted progress, the Islamic teaching is far more refreshing, far more humane. The prisoners must have proper food and proper clothing ; those of marriageable age among them must be allowed to contract marriages ; and should a prisoner of war come to be beaten he was in recompense thereof immediately set free. Moreover, is there any government today that would release prisoners of war without ransom or indemnity, after a mere undertaking from them that they would take no part in the rest of the operations ?

Freedom on payment of ransom

Islam has given even to the payment of indemnity (ransom is only a form of indemnity) a much milder and easier form. We have noted already, in the first place, that the better thing in view of the Islamic teaching is to set prisoners free without ransom. When this is not possible in view of the cost of war, then freedom can be had on payment of a due ransom. But there is one difference between wars now and wars in the early days of Islam. In those days fighting men bore each his own expenses, whereas now all the cost of war, including equipment and supplies of all kinds, is met by the governments. In those days, therefore, individual fighting men received ransom from the prisoners which fell into their hands, while in the wars now indemnities

(13) The Holy Quran XXIV : 32.

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are received by governments because governments bear all the cost.

In Islam there is no reason why a prisoner should remain a prisoner indefinitely. If he took the field on his own, bearing his own expenses, he can regain freedom by paying a ransom. Or his relatives or friends might pay on his behalf. If he joined the war as a member of some regular army maintained by the government, his ransom can be paid by that government.

Those who cannot pay a ransom

But suppose there is a prisoner of war who cannot pay any ransom, having no money for the purpose. His friends and his relatives, or his government, too, remain unconcerned and do nothing to procure his freedom. Is such a man to remain a prisoner, a slave, for ever ?

In Islam, No. The Holy Quran says in this respect :—

> And those who ask for a writing from among your slaves, give them the writing they desire if you find that they have the capacity for it and give them of what God has given to you.[14]

This passage means that if a slave or a prisoner of war says that he lacks the means to pay his ransom with, has no friends to do so for him, and would therefore like to enter into a written covenant to the effect that he would pay the ransom after earning it and should therefore be set free for that purpose, then accept this covenant from him and take a written pledge to that effect, and set him free. Not only that ; the Muslims are expected to set such a prisoner well on the way to earn his ransom by furnishing him with some capital in one form or another. From the moment this bond is executed the prisoner has the rights and status of a free man.

In spite of all these facilities, if a prisoner neglects to regain freedom it would mean he is finding his captivity rather nice and comfortable. Request for

(14) The Holy Quran XXIV : 33

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a bond of *mokatbat* cannot be refused except when there is danger of war flaring up again or when the prisoner making this request is not judged to be competent to carry out the undertaking—when he is not sound mentally, for instance. The capital or equipment needed to set him on the road to liberty will be supplied by his master, and failing that, by the government.

Extreme care taken by Islam to provide for all who desire to regain freedom

A question might arise here in the mind of some people. When it is permissible to reject an application for *mokatabat* on the plea of unfitness of the applicant to carry out the undertaking faithfully, what guarantee is there that this power will not be abused ? This is a pertinent question and Islam gives a completely satisfactory answer by providing that the applicant can take his case to the Cadi (judge) who would issue a decree in his favour. The Islamic teaching thus leaves no loophole for keeping a prisoner in prolonged indefinite bondage. In the presence of all these strenuous endeavours of the Islamic teaching if a man prefers to live among the Muslims in captivity, it can only mean that he finds life in this captivity easier and fuller than freedom among his own people.

The fact of the matter is that Companions of the Holy Prophet meted out such noble treatment to their slaves and looked after them with such solicitous care that this life for the slaves had greater comfort, greater dignity and greater charm than freedom in another society.

Companions of the Holy Prophet fed their slaves on the same fare which they ate themselves ; they clothed them according to the same standard ; never inflicted upon them the indignity of corporal punishment, however slight ; never set them a task beyond their power ; never asked them to do a thing for which their slaves had an abhorrence, or if they did, they joined in that work so that the sense of self-

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respect of the slaves should not suffer in any way. If the slaves demanded their freedom it was given to them at once, often free of charge, otherwise on payment of a just ransom. No wonder, then, that a large number of these slaves preferred to remain as they were, never asking to be set at liberty. For they had common-sense enough, and a sense of appreciation of what was noble, to see that this was in reality no captivity at all—that it was slavery only in name, while in fact it was a life among real friends, insured against all vicissitudes of the pitiless struggle for existence which waited for them if they claimed their freedom and went home. They had not so much been worsted in battle as their hearts had been conquered. The case of the famous slave of Hazrat Khadija is a typical case, fully illustrative of what has been said above.

The Holy Prophet's treatment of a slave

When Hazrat Khadija married the Holy Prophet, she transferred all her property to him, including a slave named Zaid. The Holy Prophet then set him free, but Zaid refused to leave him. Sometime afterwards his father and uncle picked up some trace of him and came to Mecca to procure his release. They presented themselves before the Holy Prophet and Zaid was sent for. When he came the Holy Prophet told him that his father and uncle had come to take him home and that he was free to go with them. But what do you think was Zaid's answer to this ? He quietly replied that he was much obliged to his father and uncle for the trouble they had taken but he did not want to go with them : he preferred to stay where he was. The father and uncle were simply flabbergasted to hear this. They could hardly believe their ears. This was a thing absolutely unheard of. They reasoned with him ; they appealed to the softer feelings of the heart ; they reminded him of his kith and kin ; they talked to him of his brothers and sisters ; they talked to him of his mother ; they exhausted all their persuasions—but

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Zaid remained unmoved. They stirred up sweet memories in his breast, but memories of the kindness and love he had met with at the hands of the Holy Prophet were sweeter. He shook his head sadly. He was grieved to disappoint his father and uncle and his mother away back at home waiting for the return of her long lost son. He was very sorry for all this, and he appreciated their solicitude—but he could not go with them. He was happy where he was.

"But, my dear boy!" cried his father in a last agonising appeal, "are you in your senses? How can you prefer slavery to freedom?"

"Yes father, that is true", was the quiet answer again. "I prefer to live with this man, even in captivity, for in him I have seen something which is to be seen nowhere else in the world."

Now who would dare to raise any objection against this kind of Slavery? This Slavery indeed makes one wonder at the depth of kindness and devotion which two noble souls can feel for one another.

Why Slavery did not disappear from among the Muslims

If Slavery did not disappear from early Islamic society the reason is plain and simple. Those slaves found their life in Slavery happier and fuller than they thought would be possible for them in freedom among their own kith and kin. They loved their Slavery; they were literally in love with their chains. But pious Christian clergymen shed tears of grief over them and continue to hurl objections against Islam for giving its sanction to the institution of Slavery. In public lectures when these worthy priests address their people, cries of protest are heard should the lecture take as little as five minutes beyond the half hour announced for it. But here in Qadian, during the annual gathering in December, men sit in an open theatre for more than 5 hours, often into the night, numb with cold and cramped for space. Would this wrapt attention and disregard of the most elementary comfort be considered objectionable—

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a sign of Slavery ? No, and again no, for it it is indeed a sign of life and vitality, of sacrifice and love, of intelligence and appreciation of what is really beneficent. If it is Slavery, it is the Slavery of God, not of men.

In short, no one can say that the march of civilisation in having abolished Slavery about a century ago had outstripped Islam, for Islam brought about this reform much more successfully thirteen hundred years ago. *The slaves liberated under Islamic influence have been silently and automatically absorbed into the body politic, but the slaves set free under European influence still remain a thorn in the side of civilisation.*

There is no Slavery in Islam ; and even in regard to the treatment of prisoners of war neither the Axis Powers nor the Allies are advanced and humane enough to adopt the Muslim code.

Some points of view to justify certain kinds of oppression

The question of Slavery disposed of, let us now take the other form of sorrow and suffering—the sorrow and suffering which spring from poverty or subjection. But before passing on to a discussion of the ways and means recommended by Islam for the solution of this problem, it may be noted that a good deal of this sorrow and suffering is the result of certain fallacious theories in the domains of politics and ethics.

1. The well-known saying "might is right" involves one theory of this kind. Of course when the matter is put before in this uncompromising naked form, most people would repudiate this saying. But the truth remains that in empire building, colonial expansion, even in trade, most of the high and mighty methods used have their last sanction in this principle. When Great Britain or France or Germany had a chance of occupying foreign territories, they did not allow moral scruples to interfere with these lucrative activities. When Mussolini dug his claws into poor unoffending Abyssinia, he

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took care to choose his time well but did not worry over much about moral justifications. He wanted territory, and he simply proceeded to carve out a substantial piece where it suited him most. We are living in an age of civilisation. The earth's mighty always do. And the plea of civilisation itself furnishes them with any number of reasons to satisfy silly qualms of conscience. So Mussolini calmly mounted the forum and said glibly that Italy had a mission in Abyssinia—she had gone there with tanks and poison gas to civilise the natives! He hinted that Great Britain had the same mission in India—to teach civilisation to the Indians, to educate them. This was the kind of talk that silences all criticism, as it did in this case. The League of Nations talked a little of sanctions but soon subsided, and if the Italian eagles are no longer in Abyssinia the reason is that Italy is no longer strong enough. So in this age of enlightenment and civilisation, too, the people who count at heart still seem to think that "might is right."

2. Secondly, the idea obtains widely that the "upper dog" is justified in fighting to the death to maintain his position. After all the poor fellow should not be expected to go down without a blow.

3. Then there is the plea of racial superiority. Maintenance of this position is claimed as a sacred right in the interests of mankind, in the interests of civilisation and progress. It is the same philosophy of which India has had a taste in the superiority of the Brahman to which reference was made a few pages back.

4. The conception of Democracy too has been turned in places into an instrument of oppression. The majority feels entirely justified in relegating to a corner the needs of a minority. *By this simple method minorities disappear altogether sometimes.*

5. Another convenient but pernicious principle is involved in the practice widely followed by "pushing" Powers that anything of which the owner

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is not much in evidence round-abouts can be snatched away as a free gift by any one who chances upon it. This practice is very much like a game children sometimes play in India. When some trifle—a bit of pencil or a piece of chord—is noticed by a child lying on the ground, he quickly picks it up and shouts : "A thing dropped and forgotten belongs to God ; it is worth not a half-penny nor a farthing", meaning thereby that it now belonged to him. It is an innocent game, quite exciting for little children. But as played by the modern powers it is far from innocent for what is "picked up" are big island chains and whole countries with populations of their own. A man once asked the Holy Prophet : "O Prophet of God ! when I find a dropped or discarded thing, what should I do with it ?" "What sort of thing do you mean" ? inquired the Holy Prophet. "If it is a kid, for instance, wandering alone in the desert," answered the man. "If it is a kid", replied the Holy Prophet, "give some shouts there on the scene to attract the owner if he be anywhere about. Should no one answer your call, you may take the kid and eat it if you like ; for if you don't do so, your brother the wolf would." "If it is a camel, O Prophet of God ?" "Leave it alone", replied the Holy Prophet. "You have no right to interfere with that camel. Its food is on the trees and it carries its own supply of water." "If it is a bag of money", the man asked further. "Pick it up", replied the Holy Prophet, "and persistently proclaim your find among the peeple. When the owner turns up, hand it over to him."

The principle here enunciated by the Holy Prophet in regard to such matters is a golden principle, scrupulously fair and just. Things likely to perish for want of protection could be taken and utilized. But things capable of maintaining themselves should be strictly left alone ; for they would keep until such time when the proper owner came to look for them.

Keep this golden Islamic principle in mind, then note the moral bankruptcy in contrast of the practice

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followed by European Powers in matters of this kind. They go roaming over the wide world; catch hold of weak, backward races by the throat to prevent an outcry on their part, and calmly proceed to appropriate their countries. The two Americas were "picked up" in this way, and India, Australia, and all the islands in the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans.

Certain defects in the political and economic systems are responsible for a good deal of the suffering.

In addition to these pernicious principles which lurk in the mind of the big Powers and determine their policies, though on the surface they are repudiated, there are a number of other drawbacks in the present political, social and economic systems which cause no small amount of suffering to the poor. For instance :—

1. No government organ assumes responsibility for properly looking after the cripples or those otherwise unable to earn their livelihood. Of course some improvement is now being made, but progress is tardy; and in any case it is miles behind the thorough measures recommended by Islam.

2. Avenues are kept open for all the wealth to accumulate into the hands of a few fortunate people.

3. Exits are closed so that certain bank balances never decrease.

4. Substantial amounts are wasted away on useless unproductive occupations. This is called devotion to Art.

Remedies proposed by Islam.

Islam, however, closes the door for all these evils. For one thing it makes a general declaration, for the widest possible application, that the wealth God has provided on this planet is for the benefit of all mankind, and that no one can claim exclusive rights or special privileges. The case of what we call ownerships in these things is like that of a child

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given a packet of sweets. The fact that the mother handed over the packet to him does not entitle him to gobble it all up himself, he is expected to share it with his brothers and sisters. The Holy Quran says that whatever is in the earth, God has created it for the benefit of you all.[15]

Under this principle Islam rejects Imperialism, National Socialism, as well as International Socialism, for these are theories propounded by the strong to give them a semblance of moral rights over weak and backward races. If one were to be honest about it, the greatest difficulty in the way of independence being extended to India is the fear that the example would stir up similar aspirations in the breast of the Africans. They were the merest wild savages when the Europeans so kindly and gratutitously took their education in hand, as a result of which they are now coming on nicely. In appreciation of this great and disinterested service the Africans should have the sense to remain content with leaving their country in the hands of the white man, to be managed by him as he thought fit. If they begin to claim independence it would be wrong and immoral on their part. These are the ideas hidden in the subconscious regions of the Europeans mind. When a European talks of ethical principles these ideas remain asleep or tucked away out of sight, so that he can feel all the confidence of self-applauded virtue ; but when he comes to any serious business of the day, they spring to the forefront and decide his policy. Of course the Africans were real savages before they came in contact with the Europeans. They went about naked and their food consisted of leaves of trees or roots, and other things as coarse and crude. But what earthly right had the Europeans to give them delicacies to eat, and take possession of their homelands in return.

According to the Islamic teaching, undeveloped sources of wealth are the common legacy of all mankind. But modern arbiters of the destinies of nations

(15) The Holy Quran, II : 29.

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first unblushingly usurp what does not belong to them, and then proceed to stake out exclusive claims. South Africa enacts laws forbidding entry into that country, designed and operated to keep "intruders" away. So do the United States of America ; and so do Australia and New Zealand. (The gates of Palestine, however, must be thrown wide open to turn it into a "National Home" for the Jews—*Ed.*).

Islamic principle in regard to mineral wealth.

Islam disapproves of people or nations appropriating natural sources of wealth for exclusive exploitation. Similarly Islam disapproves of exclusive rights in mines. A fifth share in the mines Islam assigns to the government, in addition to which would be the Zakat, the 2½ per cent tax in favour of the poor. This would put substantial funds at the disposal of government to be spent for the benefit of the lower classes. So the discovery and development of mineral wealth under the Islamic system does not upset the economic equilibrium of society.

Check against usurpation in the guise of guardianship.

The second check applied by Islam against imperialism and exploitation is contained in these words :—

> Do not look with longing eyes at what other people have been blessed with ; do not desire to take possession of their properties under the mistaken idea that you would then look after them better ; do not distress yourself on their account (should they appear to you to be backward or incompetent) : the proper field for your sympathetic care is the welfare of your people. (You should expend your energies upon that and not go poking your nose into the affairs of other people).[16]

This teaching cuts at the root of imperial exploitation and colonisation which always bases itself on considerations for the "good" of the people sought to be despoiled. But these are only crocodile tears which before many ears have passed do not

(16) The Holy Quran, XV : 88.

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fail to show their true colour. Look at East Africa. The Europeans are there only for the good of the poor, backward "natives", who for their own "good" are deprived of all their lands and herded up on "reservations" so that they should not contaminate the air, and in any case remain out of sight !

There remains the plea that failure to develop such sources of wealth entails a loss for all mankind. But that development is surely immoral which deprives the primary owners of their proper share so that fat dividends should go to Paris, or Berlin or London, to Rome or Tokio. If you go there really to serve, you should go as servants—not as masters, not as usurpers, driving people out of their homes and turning their free life into an unspeakable misery.

The fact is that an end can be put to the sorrow and suffering caused by imperial exploitation and colonisation only by enforcing the Islamic teaching as an international law.

Islamic conception of a League of Nations.

To stop high-handedness and aggression by an unscrupulous power Islam proposes that until such time when all mankind should be gathered round one Axis, States should create a collective instrument to uphold justice and fair-play in international relations. The guiding principle laid down by the Holy Quran in this respect is to make peace between them should two nations go to war. If it should be found that they were not prepared to come to terms, all the contracting parties should declare war against the aggressor and force him to peace. But the moment the enemy expressed willingness to accept an award, hostilities should cease and the terms imposed should not be malignant, or greedy; nor should they go beyond the original dispute.

The Quranic passage embodying these principles is one of those grand and marvellous Quranic prophecies which we in this age have seen coming true in front of our eyes. When this passage was reveal-

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ed there were no hostile groups in Islam so that it referred only to future developments in the political history of mankind. The Quranic principle contains five points :—

1. International pressure upon the two parties to a dispute that they should make an amicable settlement.

2. Concerted action against the party through whose fault such a settlement fails to materalise.

3. A just peace when that party has been beaten down to its knees—a peace of which the terms do not go beyond the original dispute.

4. Conceived in anger, the peace terms should not impose malicious burdens or unbearable disabilities.

5. From the party overpowered, or from the one whose cause was championed by the Instrument of Collective Security, the member States should not seek to wring concessions for themselves.

Islam put forward this proposal in regard to the construction of a League of Nations when no one in the world had any ideas on the point, and the passage remained like a sealed book until God revealed to me the full wider import of its meaning. Revelations of such stupendous value are made by God either to His Prophets or their rightful Khalifas (successors). There is no record in religious history of such revelations having been made by people of lesser eminence—revelations which touch the whole world and refer to developments extending over centuries. The old League of Nations failed because it was not built on the principle laid down by Islam, *without which no League of Nations would ever succeed.* In a book,[17] in 1924, I drew attention to the grave defects in the structure of the League, which defects in later years proved to be its undoing.

Causes of the failure of the old League of Nations.

In 1924, when I had occasion to visit England,

(17) "Ahmadiyyat or the True Islam," Book Depot, Qadian (India).

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the League of Nations had been recently formed and great things were expected of it. But at that early date I gave a warning that a League of this kind was before long bound to crash. I also delivered a lecture in the course of which I dealt with all these points. In *Ahmadiyyat or the True Islam*, for instance, I wrote :—

> If these defects are removed a League of Nations could be established on the lines indicated by the Holy Quran, and it is only such a League which can be safely entrusted with the maintenance of international peace, and not a League whose very existence is dependent upon the good-will of others.[18]

Again I wrote :—

> International disputes can not be put an end to till it is realised that mankind are one nation, and prosperity or adversity are neither the hereditary nor the permanent qualities of a nation. No nation has had a uniform record of prosperity or adversity, nor can any nation be secure, in the future, against an adverse change in its circumstances. The volcanic forces which raise a nation to the highest pinnacle of glory or pull it down to the lowest depths of ignominy have not ceased to work, and nature pursues its designs as it has done through centuries past. Therefore a people that deals unjustly with another people sets in motion a vicious circle of injustice which never ends.[19]

People in those days were in such high hopes in regard to the League that criticism against it, no matter how reasonable, was at once thrown into the waste-paper basket. My point was that unless the member States were prepared to go to war against an aggressor, peace could not be secured. But League enthusiasts said that this would only cause fresh wars, not secure peace. So they continued to ignore the guidance afforded by the Holy Quran, though now, after wasting 22 years, and after suffering the ravages of another war more terrible than the last, they are turning in the direction indicated by the Word of

(18) Ahmadiyyat or the True Islam page 357, (1st English edition.)
(19) Ahmadiyyat or the True Islam, page 360, (1st English edition.)

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God. But I warn again that if they deviate from the Islamic principles any League that might come to be set up would be bound to crash.

Steps taken by Islam to raise the standard of living for the poor.

In the above pages I have discussed the remedies proposed by Islam to eliminate oppression from the international sphere. Let us now turn to the steps which Islam takes to ensure a more equitable distribution of wealth at home, in one's own country, so that the lower classes should not be left too far behind.

Law of inheritance.

Laws of inheritance prevailing in the West go a long way to cause the accumulation of wealth in a few hands while the rest of the nations is left more or less destitute. This deprives a large number of people of a decent start in life. But Islam gives a share to all rightful heirs of the deceased. To the father and mother, to the husband or wife as the case may be ; to the sons and daughters ; for each there is a stipulated share which no one can alter. In contrast to this equitable law, the laws of inheritance in other religions are very defective : most of them give a share only to the sons and deprive all others. The laws of Manu give nothing to the daughters. Laws prevailing in the West generally give everything to the eldest son, or to the next male heir in the order of succession. The natural result of laws such as these is a lopsided distribution of wealth. Islam severely disapproves of laws of this kind. Its idea is to spread wealth as widely as may be just and possible, so that the largest possible number of people should get an even break in their lives—not that a few should get everything and live idle lives.

Check against hoarding.

Secondly, Islam disapproves of the hoarding of wealth and makes it impossible. Its aim is that wealth

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should remain constantly in circulation. Islamic laws either force the wealthy to spend their wealth or to invest it, failing which they have to pay a substantial special tax, $2\frac{1}{2}$ percent, every year, the funds thus raised being utilised by the State for the exclusive benefit of the poor. The hoarders are warned that they would be branded on the Day of Judgment with the wealth which they hoard. The idea is that this wealth, when put into circulation, would open out chances for many poor people to earn a living. Muslims are disallowed to eat or drink out of utensils made of silver or gold. The use of silver or gold ornaments is not encouraged, though women are permitted to use jewellery to a certain extent.

Interest forbidden.

Thirdly, Islam forbids interest on loans. Interest is an evil of which the operation in the long run severely disturbs the economic equilibrium of society. It is among the main factors which gather up wealth into the hands of a few. It increases speculation for those who know the trick can raise enormous loans. But wreckless borrowing at last takes them to a point where they cannot meet their liabilities and crash—causing dangerous eddies in the economic life of the community which prove to be the undoing of many. In India the cultivator well knows that the *bania* (local money-lender) by means of interest has for centuries been draining him of his earnings year after year.

Zakat or the poor-rate.

Thus Islam operates its laws to bring about a wider and most general distribution of wealth, so that the largest possible number of people should be set squarely on their feet, rather than only a few roll in wealth. But to ensure a fair deal even for those to whom the benefit of these laws might fail to penetrate, Islam imposes a special tax upon the rich and spends it upon the welfare of the poor. This tax is called Zakat—a very comprehensive tax levied on

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all kinds of immovable property, beyond a set limit, (which is fairly low) provided the property remains with an owner for full one year. Thus it is not a tax on income alone, but on capital and profit as well. The law of Zakat is a double-edged weapon against a possible maldistribution of wealth. On the one hand it forces wealth into circulation and on the other opens up a source of revenue in the interests of the poor and needy. Now-a-days in India there is a blind craze, due to the war situation, for hoarding up silver and gold. Under the Islamic economic system this kind of craze is checked when Zakat has to be paid on the wealth hoarded and hidden away.

Right of private ownership recognised in Islam

But it should be borne in mind that, with its view that wealth should be utilised to the common benefit of all, Islam does not reject the right of private ownership. Its power is watered down in various ways, as indicated above, but it is not abolished.

Superiority of the Islamic system over Bolshevism

As compared with the Islamic system Bolshevism has some serious drawbacks :—

1. Political, economic, and social systems are meant to create and maintain an ordered society. But Bolshevism by its sudden and forcible uprooting of old concepts and time : honoured institutions raises deep animosities, of which the poisonous effect projects itself into the future life of the community. Revolution on Bolshevik principles causes unbearable injury to the interests of a powerful element in the country which rises in opposition. A part gets crushed in the course of the revolution, but a part escapes abroad where it continues to conspire against the new regime. In any case a part of its power is lost to the country. The sudden confiscation of his property and the forcible lowering of his standard of living give to the rich man a shock which he can never quite get over, and kindle in his breast an

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undying hate for the new regime. The greatest enemies of Soviet Russia are Russians upon whom the revolution inflicted an unbearable change. Islam aims at bringing about a change as deep, perhaps, even deeper in some respects, but it does not ignore the danger signals erected by human psychology. When political power gathered into the hands of the Holy Prophet of Arabia, he declared that he would not disturb ownerships that had become old lest the public should get an impression that it was being subjected to oppression.

2. Bolshevism, moreover, ignores the fact that mental capacities too constitute a kind of capital, and it is a kind of capital which cannot be divided. The Bolshevik system tends to cramp mental powers because in comparison with manual labour Bolshevism attaches no value to intellectual work. The Russian system guarantees a decent living for the lowest manual labourer, but the intellectual worker it leaves to starve for his pains, or work with his hands too to keep body and soul together, so intellectual capacity commands no value in the Bolshevik system. And things which command no value tend to get neglected and begin to deteriorate. People who attach no value to money are never found rolling in wealth : they lose even the little they might happen to have. Thus there is this very serious defect in Bolshevism that it regards material property as capital but fails to appraise the proper value of intellectual capacity. One reason for this failure is the impossibility of dividing these powers. Because these powers could not be shared with others, Bolshevism declined to recognise them as capital, for if they were a kind of capital Bolshevism was pledged to seize them and divide them equally among all. Brain power, therefore, it had perforce to leave out of account as a valueless thing ; and just for that reason intellectual progress in Russia is bound to be slowed down in time.

Islam too, like Bolshevism, has drastic and radical changes in view, but it proceeds, not necessarily

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slowly, but gradually. It does not abruptly force the body : before making far reaching changes it first prepares the mind to receive them. By its deeper spiritual power it prepares rich people to feel for the poor and to spend their wealth voluntarily for the benefit of the needy—wealth of all kinds, both mental and material. The Holy Quran says that the real believers are those who spend in the way of the Lord out of *everything* they have been blessed with —health, wealth and intellect. Brain power, too, like material wealth, is unequally distributed ; but Islam reduces this inequality to the minimum by calling upon those mentally superior to place their intellect at the service of their less gifted brethren. It first carries conviction to the heart, then makes necessary readjustments, not by means of compulsion and confiscation but on a basis of voluntary surrender which, in its wake, leaves good-will, not violent hate.

Injustice and inequality remain even under the Bolshevik system

Besides, even Bolshevism fails to level up all distinctions between the rich and the poor : certain kinds of inequalities persist even in this regime. Perhaps no communist would claim that Stalin eats the same food as falls to the lot of a poor moujik in a Russian village. We know, anyway, that in the State banquet given to Mr. Wendell Willkie when he visited Russia recently, a sixty course dinner was served of which some description was given in the press. Now it is not to be supposed that on that day a sixty course dinner was served to everyone in Russia. But then, if distinctions are to persist, where is the use of all the violence that is resorted to in order to level them up ? Wouldn't it be more profitable to avoid violence and tone down the distinctions in some gentle and tactful manner ?

Setback to intellectual progress under Bolshevism

The Bolshevik system does not properly recognise

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the worth of intellectual work. This circumstance, though hardly felt at all at present, in the long run is bound to cause serious losses to Russia, of perhaps the gravest kind. By and by Russian scientists would take to selling patent rights in their new inventions in foreign countries, because the foreign market would pay them better. They would begin to find that it was more profitable for them to slip out of the country and seek citizenship in other lands as neutralised subjects.

It should be borne in mind that the hold of Bolshevik principles upon the mind of enthusiasts is rather similar to the appeal of Church Christianity's doctrine of no resistance to evil. All the force of the appeal lies only on the surface which fades out whenever circumstances rise to test it seriously. The Russian Communists, in the fresh joy of liberation from tyrannies of the Tsarist regime, believe they can make any sacrifice for the cause of Revolution; but their feelings would change when they find that Bolshevik principles deprive them of the advantage the sweat of their brow entitles them to.

The case of a Christian missionary in Cairo is on record who used to hold forth on the Christian teaching: "Resist not evil, but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also." How lofty and sublime was this teaching, as compared with Islam and its fanatical religious wars, he would say. But one day a man walked up to him as he was holding forth in this strain and without ceremony gave him a resounding slap on the face. The missionary was completely taken aback for a second but when he saw the man was about to hit him again he raised his own hand to put in a blow himself. But his assailant caught him by the wrist. "What is this that you are doing?" he asked. "Why do you want to hit me in return? Why don't you turn to me your other cheek as you are asked to do in the Christian teaching which you have been talking so much about?" "My dear friend," replied the missionary, "at the moment I would rather act upon

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the teaching of your religion for that suits the occasion better." Thus, it is one thing to hold forth on ethical and political principles from a distance, but quite another to act upon them consistently even when day after day they continue to deprive you of the fruits of your labour. As this sense of loss gains upon the mind of the coming generations, there would be a revulsion of feeling against Bolshevism which may well end in open rebellion.

NEED OF STATE CONTROL OVER NATIONAL WEALTH

I now come to the question which is the central point in my talk today. Our brief survey of the great political movements bears out that all these movements agree on one point—the need for State control over national wealth. The view is common to all these that ordinary taxation cannot meet the extraordinary demands upon the national exchequer which rise from new conceptions in regard to the duties of the State towards the citizen. The new demands can be satisfied only by raising additional funds by various means which may all be included in one comprehensive term—State control over the means of production, of which there are varying forms, some mild and others drastic, according to the nature of the movement which advocates them. The question for us here is: What view does Islam take in the matter?

As we have seen so far, the utmost that Islam proposes for the poor is to levy Zakat in their interest, but we might be asked: Is this measure enough to ensure a decent standard of life for the poor—nutritious food in sufficient quantity, hygienic homes, free schools for their children, proper clothing and proper medical attendance. My honest answer to this question is in the negative. In view of the specific needs of the times, the government should have much larger funds at its disposal. The old duties of the State were no more than the maintenance of a few roads, some hospitals, an army and

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a police force, etc. ; but now the State must also feed and clothe and house the poor, maintain free schools for their children and free clinics for medical treatment. Islam too recognises this conception of the duties of the State. Then how does Islam propose to raise the additional funds required for this purpose ?

Methods proposed by Parliamentary Socialism to raise these additional funds :—

But before taking up this question let us examine the methods by means of which Socialism, National Socialism and Bolshevism propose to find the required money.

The Democratic type of Socialism, *i.e.*, the Socialism which prevails in the Democratic countries, proposes that labour should have not a fixed wage but a share in the profits. But this principle is not very sound. For one thing, profits vary from industry to industry and from firm to firm, which would necessitate varying scales of remuneration for the labour employed therein. There would also arise the practical difficulty that all the available labour would want to get into the industry or the firm that earned the highest profit, making it impossible to decide whom to get and whom to reject.

There are only two practical measures for determining the wages of labour : ability or a uniform, minimum standard of living, both of which find no scope when wages are determined on the basis of a share in the profits.

Democratic Socialism proposes, secondly, that the more important industries should be put on a national basis. This means, that transport, electricity, mines, etc., should be made into State monopolies, but this plan too is open to serious objections. For instance, it cannot be put into practice on a universal and unified basis. It can operate only in separate units from country to country, whereas the aim of Socialism is said to be the amelioration of the condition of the poor all over the world. Nationalisation

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of industry would only create powerful national cartels which in the keenness of competition would crush the poor in many countries. Powerful national concerns, moreover, narrow down the field for individual enterprise, neglect and decay of which too is harmful to humanity as we have seen.

Methods proposed by National Socialism :—

I do not know the scheme advocated by National Socialism in this regard beyond imperial exploitation and an idea of Hitler and Goering to help industries and firms which contributed most to the national exchequer by giving them large State contracts. Imperial exploitation we have dealt with already ; and the rest of the scheme, evidently, cannot put at the disposal of the State the huge funds required to make living conditions easier for labour. Moreover, it leaves the extent of the responsibility of the State in the matter and unfixed.

Methods proposed by Bolshevism

Bolshevism proposes that all big industries and commerce should be in the hands of the government, all property should be taken over by it, including land and the surplus income from land. I have already explained the defects in this plan and, to recapitulate them briefly, they are : destruction of the spirit of individual enterprise ; the danger of reversion to despotism worse than that of the Tsars as happened in the case of the French Revolution which brought to the surface a Napoleon ; and amputation of a powerful limb of the body politic which leaves the wound open, to fester and poison the whole organism.

Methods proposed by Islam

Now I come to the methods recommended by Islam. The first radical difference between the Islamic point of view and the points of view held by the movements we have been discussing, lies in the two conceptions of a decent standard of life. The

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Western conception contemplates a life of luxury with cinema shows, dance halls, theatres, races, games, dinner parties and drinks; whereas the Islamic conception deprives even the rich of these useless, wasteful pursuits. This is the first step Islam takes to bring the life of the poor and the rich on an equal plane. Islam recognises the value of rest and recreation, but it does not countenance forms of recreation which tend to lower the moral tone of society. It draws a clear line between necessities and luxuries; and instead of seeking to provide luxuries for all, it guarantees necessities for all and reduces the power of the rich to indulge in luxuries, laying certain forms under a definite ban, such as dancing and wine, etc. A grievance of the poor in England is that they do not get enough beer and no champagne at all; the government there admits the justice of this grievance and tries to make it possible for the working man to have as much beer as he might like, with a glass or two of port or sherry, or some fine liquer to round off the evening. But Islam puts the rich and the poor on a footing of equality by depriving them both of intoxicating drinks of all kinds. In Europe and America the lower classes clamour for cinema shows and dance halls and the governments, at least in principle, admits the justice of this demand, and wants the rich to supply it with funds so that these demands should be fulfilled. But Islam takes a resolute stand against these things on the ground that they harm the moral and spiritual fibre of man.

Equality in Islam through taking away luxuries from the rich

Islam thus brings the rich and the poor on the same plane not by exposing the poor to the corrupting influence of luxuries, but by hardening the rich like a fine tempered blade, by bringing them to a simpler, harder life. Evidently, States which undertake to supply all their citizens with luxuries to an

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unspecified extent can hardly be expected to refrain from indulging in pillage and loot in some form or other ; while States which call their citizens to plain and simple living might well be able to spare something for the poor in other countries as well. When you want to live a simple life you can easily decide upon the point beyond which you would not want to go ; but once you open the door for luxuries, you never know where to stop. The Islamic view therefore is more practical and more likely to succeed for it requires less funds to be successful. Islam can give a decent standard of life to the world with much less money than can Christianity or any other European system. It forbids the use of silk garments for males ; does not approve of the use of gold or silver plate, needless construction of big buildings, the use of too much jewellery for women, intoxicating drinks and games of chance. These restrictions serve a double purpose : on the one hand the poor are not made miserable by a desire to have these things, while on the other a great deal of money is saved by the rich which can be utilised for the benefit of the poor.

Voluntary contributions to raise additional funds

Secondly, the Islamic system gives due scope to individual enterprise, but leaves the way open for raising money as required by means of persuasion, backed by the unrivalled spiritual appeal which Islam, as a living religion, undoubtedly possesses. Suppression of individual enterprise entails a great national loss, and any scheme that can successfully avoid this loss and yet can manage to raise necessary funds has much to recommend it. Moreover, the aftermaths for society of money taken by force for the benefit of the poor are not healthy : it leaves bitterness in the minds of the sections from which the money is taken and fails to create gratitude in the mind of the beneficiaries. On the other hand money raised on a voluntary basis, as recommended by Islam, leaves noble feelings in its wake in the mind of both

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parties, which give to society a very healthy and contented moral tone.

Another advantage of giving due scope to individual enterprise

In an economic system that gives free play to individual enterprise the earning capacity of society is raised to its maximum efficiency. Medical practitioners, lawyers, engineers, scientists, manufacturers, big merchants and small tradesmen, all work at their hardest, resulting in substantial increases in the aggregate income of society from which Islam, by means of its powerful spiritual appeal, draws out a proportionately large share for the benefit of the needy. Bolshevism suffers from a grave defect in comparison inasmuch as the suppression of individual enterprise it resorts to cripples the mental and productive power of society, and the system raises up a lasting feeling of hate instead of creating an atmosphere of fellow-feeling and love.

Islam's appeal to spend voluntarily for the benefit of the poor :

In the interests of the poor Islam imposes compulsory taxes, too, like *Zakat* and *'Ushar*, but it also says :—

> And spend in the way of Allah and do not expose yourself to destruction with your own hands, and do good to others, surely Allah loves doers of good. [20]

In addition to compulsory taxes Islam thus imposes the further duty upon a Muslim to surrender voluntarily as much of his earnings as he possibly can for the benefit of the poor. The warning given in this passage is worthy of note : "Do not expose yourself to destruction with your own hands." Taken in its context the warning would refer to "destruction" through failure to spend in the way of Allah as directed. These words succinctly but vividly portray the horrors of revolution such as were seen

(20) The Holy Quran, II : 195.

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in the blood baths of Paris in 1792 or in Russia in 1917. Conditions being ripe, what happened in France or Russia might well happen anywhere. On a small scale it happens in India from time to time. In the Shahpur district there is a special term for something like this happening on a minute scale—"to offer prayers for welfare," (in vernacular دعاء خير پڑھ دینا). This expression is generally used for prayers offered on behalf of a man who has passed away; and in the special meaning referred to above it has a hidden sinister significance. In Indian rural economy the bania, or the local money-lender, is a very important person—anyway he used to be before certain agrarian laws put him partly out of business, in the Punjab at any rate. He was very important because almost all the cultivators were in debt to him. And when these debts accumulated beyond any hope of redemption the unfortunate debtors would grow desperate and decide to "offer prayers for welfare" of the bania, as they called it; *i.e.* they would sally out in force one dark night, properly armed for the fell deed, and kill the money-lender, giving over to flames all his books and records.

Another point worthy of note in this most remarkable and prophetic passage is the expression واحسنوا This means that it is not enough to surrender only what is superfluous; it is more pleasing in the sight of God if needs are cut down in order to save something for the poor. In this way Islam ensures peace and goodwill upon earth, combined with merit in the sight of God which is a greater gain than material wealth however boundless.

Elasticity of the Islamic system in meeting the needs of the poor in every age

Elasticity is another remarkable feature of the Islamic teaching; it can be adapted to suit varying conditions from age to age. A rigid system may be successful in a given set of circumstances, but it breaks down as soon as circumstances change. A wooden board would fit in only in a place of given

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dimensions, but a sheet of cloth can be folded up or opened out according to need. It should be remembered, however, that elasticity *is not be confused with characterlessness.*

The poor were well looked after in the early days of Islam

In the earliest period of the Islamic culture this teaching operated with complete success. The Muslims in the days of the Holy Prophet led a simple and clean and hardy life. When the reins of government came into his hands, the Holy Prophet looked after the poor and needy, not only out of the Zakat funds, but also, whenever necessary, he raised additional funds for the purpose by means of special voluntary contributions. The Companions of the Holy Prophet made very conspicuous sacrifices on such occasions. Hazrat Abu Bakr once brought everything he had, and Hazrat Usman once brought almost all his wealth. Thus we find that in those days funds for the benefit of the poor were raised from time to time as the occasion demanded ; and for a small community, as the Muslims then were, these measures were fully satisfactory.

Needs of the poor under the Khulafa

With expansion under the Khulafa and the growth of the Muslim State, systematic efforts were made to look after the poor as part of the routine duties of the State. Regular registers were maintained bearing the names and particulars of all those who were entitled to State aid and all their needs were fulfilled. This system worked smoothly without a hitch. Bolshevism is generally credited with the idea that the poor were entitled to State aid, but it should not be forgotten that Islam put forth this principle more than a thousand years ago and put it into practice as a routine item in the duties of the Muslim State. In the early part of the reign of Hazrat Umar children were not entitled to a pensi on until weaned. But one night when Hazrat Umar

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was walking alone in the streets of Medina his attention was attracted by the wailing cries of a child coming from a hut. When he knocked on the door and made enquiries he was shocked to hear that the child had been newly weaned and weaned *too soon to win an increase to the family pension.* Hazrat Umar at once saw the great harm possible to the health of the coming generation in this way, and directed forthwith that increase to the family pension should take place from the day a child was born.

In those days the contrast between the life of the upper and lower classes was neither so great nor so painful, and the timely help rendered to the poor by these simple means was quite effective. They were fed and clothed and housed well enough to be contended and happy citizens. Life itself was simple in those days—even the life of the wealthy, whose wealth in most cases was only a question of degree. But now the poor are far more poorer and the rich far more richer. Owing to various causes life has become more expensive, and the population has increased, so that there are more people to be housed and clothed and fed ; and for this purpose much bigger funds are now necessary than was the case in the past. The administrative arrangements made by the early Muslim governments for putting into operation the Islamic teaching in regard to the poor, can not be expected to work successfully in the changed conditions which of necessity throw a greater strain on them ; *but the Islamic teaching itself stands even today as complete as ever, fully capable of being so operated as to satisfy all the needs of the age.*

All political thinkers are more or less agreed that State control over the means of production in one form or an other is only a question of time. Socialism, National Socialism, and Bolshevism all have set their course in that direction, however much their speed and motives might differ. State control seems to be coming, no matter which of these three move-

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ments comes out successful in the long run. But it would be State control *brought about by force and maintained by force, with all the attendant evils which*, we have seen, are inseparable from it.

Can Islam steer a course clear of these sunken reefs ?

The Successors of the Holy Prophet interpreted Islam according to the needs of their time and devised a system to fulfil those needs. But that system is not adequate now in view of the heavier demands which fall upon it. This age stands in need of a New Order, and this makes it necessary that some fresh Teacher should come from God to inaugurate this Order—a Heavenly Order, for the earthly orders proposed are likely to lead, before long, only to further disorders. As we all know, the Holy Prophet Muhammad gave tidings of the appearance of a great World Teacher among the Muslims during the age through which the world is now passing ; and for all those who believe in these prophecies the idea is natural and unavoidable that the best remedy for the ills of this age would be the remedy brought by the Teacher sent by Almighty God to lead mankind out of the perplexities and perils peculiar to this age. Creation of the New Order is thus undoubtedly the task of the Mahdi and the Messiah expected by the Muslims. It can not successfully be undertaken by anyone else. This is literally a superhuman task. It is not easy to avoid the pitfalls which beset the paths pursued by Socialism, National Socialism and Bolshevism. It is not easy to avoid these pitfalls and yet succeed in doing justice to the poor.

The aim of the Islamic teaching, as I have previously indicated, is to guarantee the fulfilment of basic needs for all ; to do so and yet leave family life, individual enterprise and the finer susceptibilities of our nature in tact ; to bring about all necessary changes on a voluntary basis, not by means of force ; and to operate this system on a world-wide scale.

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The New Order founded by the Promised Messiah in 1905

Bolshevism, Nationalist Socialism and, in a sense, even Socialism are growths of the post-war period since 1919. Hitler and Mussolini are no more than creations of the unrest left in the wake of the war. They and the movements they stand for are not independent, natural, permanent growths ; there is something ephermal about them and the Orders they propose. The foundation of the real New Order, destined to endure, was laid by the Saviour of the Age as early as 1905.

We must remember that the principle laid down by the Holy Quran is that over and above a certain compulsory taxation in the interests of the poor, the Muslims should also voluntarily contributes for the purpose out of their earnings. This is a broad principle not committed to any details, and therefore capable of being interpreted in the light of new needs as they arise. The nature or extent of these voluntary contributions is not fixed and may therefore vary according to the specific requirement of the time. The Saviour of the Age has applied this principle on a scale commensurate with the needs of the age, opening out thereby a clear, a broad, high-road, free from all those defects and dangers which beset the paths contemplated by those economic and political movements which seek to remove the disabilities of the poor. The voluntary contribution demanded by the Saviour of the Age is at least $\frac{1}{10}$th, at the most $\frac{1}{3}$rd, of one's movable and immovable property. The funds and the properties coming to the central executive in this way are to be spent on Islamic propaganda and "all those matters connected with the welfare of Islam and its propagation, a detailed account of which at this moment would be premature."[21] This cearly includes all those matters which have a bearing upon the consolidation of the position of Islam as a religion, and as an economic and political system.

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(21) See *Alwasiyyat*, by Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, condition No. 2.

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The New Order was foreshadowed in Alwasiyyat

This New Order was foreshadowed in a publication of the Promised Messiah entitled *Alwasiyyat*. The expression : "a detailed description of which at present would be premature" should be carefully noted. It clearly means that soon there was to come a time when all the world was to cry out that it needed a New Order to give it a new lease of life ; that at such a time Russia would invite mankind to one kind of New Order, Germany and Japan to another, and the Democracies to an order of their own ; but that a representative of the Promised Messiah would draw the attention of the world to the fact that the real New Order was contained in *Alwasiyyat* ; that he would amplify this New Order and declare that, apart from this, all other Orders were doomed to failure.

Another sentence too in this book is equally worthy of note. It runs : "Out of the wealth brought in this way the needs would be fulfilled of such Muslims as do not have sufficient incomes."[22] It is further stipulated that for the Trustees of this wealth it would be permissible to invest it in productive enterprises if deemed fit.[23]

Difference between the Bolshevik New Order and the New Order of Alwasiyyat

Participation in the construction of the New Order contemplated by *Alwasiyyat* is entirely voluntary. No compulsion is used whatsoever ; the wealth bequeathed for the purpose is freely bestowed. The only force used is the force of the spiritual appeal : the Muslims should make these bequests if they desire approbation in the sight of God. But this appeal is fully reinforced in the passages where the Promised Messiah makes it clear that this demand is a test of the sincerity and Faith of the Ahmadis, that those who do not make these bequests would be only those who are weak of faith or hypocrites. Any one

(23) *Alwasiyyat*, condition No. 3.
(24) *Alwasiyyat*, Zamima, condition No. 9.

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who went back on his pledge could have his wealth back, for as the Promised Messiah has written, God has no use for wealth unwillingly given.[24]

All this emphasises beyond any possible shadow of doubt that these contributions are entirely voluntary, which is in great contrast to the confiscation of property advocated by Bolshevism. Thus the New Order founded by the Promised Messiah achieves the goal aimed at by Balshevism, but the destination is reached without having any recourse to force. Bolshevism bathes in blood, only to realise that by levelling up old distinctions it had but given rise to new classifications and new hatreds. The Promised Messiah attains the aim more thoroughly and attains it in an atmosphere of good-will and love. After all, what is the message of Bolshevism ? It is just this that wealth should be taken away from the rich to be used for the benefit of the poor. The Promised Messiah obtains that same wealth for that very purpose, but obtains it through voluntary surrenders on the part of the owners. Every Ahmadi participating in the construction of this New Order under *Alwasiyyat* bequeaths the required portion of his wealth as a free gift, freely given. He does so not for the fear of concentration camps and barbed wire and bayonets fixed, or something worse ; but because he believes in Islam, in Ahmadiyyat and the Almighty God from whom Islam and Ahmadiyyat come. And he makes this great sacrifice for the common good of all mankind.

An unprecedented Revolution should the whole world become Ahmadi

As Ahmadiyyat spreads from country to country and becomes the dominant religion all over the world, through voluntary surrenders of this kind on the part of Ahmadis from generation to generation, the Movement shall become by far the largest owner of wealth in the whole world. For the call of

(24) Zamima condition No 12.

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Alwasiyyat is not for the Ahmadis of one generation only. In other words, by and by all the wealth, all the property and all the means of production would be owned by it and utilised by it for the welfare of the poor according to need. Private property and private enterprise too shall have free scope. These two factors would be continually earning back from the common pool according to the value of the services rendered by them, and they would also be continually refilling the pool by voluntary surrenders through *Alwasiyyat*. The aim of Socialism would thus be fully gained without any recourse to force or compulsion of any kind.

This New Order would be an International World-wide Order

The New Order of *Alwasiyyat* would, moreover, be a world-wide International Order. For Ahmadiyyat is a universal religion, being nothing more nor less than the True Islam which is meant for all mankind—for Germany and Japan, for Soviet Russia, for Great Britain and America, for the entire East and the West. The wealth at the disposal of Ahmadiyyat would be derived from all nations and all countries ; and it would be utilised equally for them all.

This New Order would thus make races and nations coalesce into one world-wide brotherhood transcending all other ties ; under it all would share the joys and sorrows of all because all would contribute materially and spiritually to the well-being and joy of each other.

The unexpressible joy of those who take part in the construction of this New Order

When Bolshevism confiscates the property of the rich they resent it violently and leave the country if they can to plot against the regime from outside, or they smoulder inwardly and in the secrecy of their hearts they curse their helplessness. When a Russian is dispossessed he does not smile ; he goes home

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boiling with rage. An Ahmadi on the other hand, when he yields a portion of his wealth does not weep or bewail his fate. He feels on the contrary the sublime elation of a transcending sacrifice in the cause of Humanity and the expectation of Paradise in return—a wonderfully cheap bargain for a paltry sum or a poor patch of ground. For, indeed, Paradise is cheap at any price. All the wealth that lies in the bowels of the earth is but paltry as compared with its blissful joy. So when he goes home after making the required bequst his wife and children do not frown on him for having decreased their portion. Rather they crowd round him in joy and beam upon him. In fact they are eager, afire, to do likewise themselves as soon as they have something to bequeath.

In temporal governments we find that those who are taxed always grumble about it. But in the New Order of Ahmadiyyat the case is quite the reverse. Its irresistible persuasion is such that even the smaller fry has preferred deliberately to entangle itself into a net the meshes of which were built too large to hold them. Originally bequests under *Alwasiyyat* could only be made out of property held by the donor, but such was the force of the appeal that those also were eager to participate who had no property to bequeath ; and in view of their repeated requests God allowed the Promised Messiah to give them permission to do so by dedicating similar portions of their income.

In short, foundation of the world's New Order was not laid in Russia in 1910. Nor would it be laid by any country in the West at the end of the world war now in progress. This foundation was laid in Qadian in 1905. No other Order can possibly strike any real root in the ground for no other Order can satisfy the needs of humanity.

Judging from the present humble condition of Ahmadiyyat people might be inclined to think that this is a very ambitious dream—in fact too ambitious to be taken seriously. But our faith in our mission

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is deep and unshakable, for it is a faith based on fact—upon religious experience, which in all ages has shown itself to be the greatest force in the affairs of man. Those who doubt this would do well to recall to mind the humble beginning of Moses, of Jesus, of Muhammad, and the changes wrought by the cultures they founded. When Jesus was nailed to the cross or when Muhammad fled to Madina with his life who could have imagined the force which their followers were to command before long? Ahmadiyyat's glorious future therefore stands unveiled before us, though other eyes may not see it—*yet*. Its New order is based upon Revelations from Almighty God, and heaven and earth might pass but not an iota of these Revelations can remain unfulfilled.

Ahmadiyyat's progress might at present be slow, but it must be remembered that nature knows of no enduring growth that is not slow. Further it must be remembered that nature prepares all her great growths in secret—imperceptibly—from the sealed rosebud to the formation of rocks and mineral wealth, and that crowning glory of her skill which we call man—which before birth comes into being and grows into an entity hidden from all eyes :

> Do not think that these are impossible dreams, for they represent the decrees of the King of all kings who holds absolute mastery over everything in the heavens and the earth. I am not anxious at all as to where from would come the wealth to make these things possible ; my only anxiety is that seeing such boundless wealth at their disposal the coming generations, who would be trustees of this wealth, might not stumble and fall and become enamoured of that wealth. I therefore humbly pray to God always to give such selfless workers to the Community who would work for His pleasure only and hope for no selfish gain. But to such of them who may not have means of their own, help can be given out of these funds.

These words of the Promised Messiah are quite clear. Wealth undreamed of even in Europe and America is going to be at the disposal of Ahmadiyyat. Even the combined resources of all

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the principal Powers would not equal this wealth. So there is absolutely no need to worry on that account. Our only care should be to ensure that this wealth is always spent most scrupulously for that purpose only for which it is meant in the Divine Scheme.

Effect of Alwasiyyat upon Khawaja Kamal-ud-Din.

Here I must give a measure of praise to Kh. Kamal-ud-Din. When the Promised Messiah wrote Alwasiyyat Kh. Kamal-ud-Din happened to read it while it was still in MS. form. When he reached the place where the scheme is outlined, he was quick to see its limitless potentialities and was completely carried away. With an ecstatic gesture he patted his thigh again and again, exclaiming : واہ اوئے مرزیا احمدیت دیاں جڑاں لگا دتیاں ہیں i. e. " Well done O Mirza ! you have driven the roots of Ahmadiyyat deep into the ground." But it has to be said that although Kh. Kamal-ud-Din realised the immense significance of the scheme of *Alwasiyyat*, he realised it only imperfectly. For when the eye takes in the full picture one has to admit that not only have the roots of Ahmadiyyat been driven deep into the ground but the roots of Islam as well ..... in fact the roots of HUMANITY. (May the blessing of Allah be upon the Holy Prophet Muhammad and upon the Promised Messiah).

A small-scale picture of the New Order in the Tahreek-i-Jadeed.

But, as I have said, this must take time. The completion of this scheme must wait for the day when Ahmadiyyat has spread out on a universal scale. Its present income is so small that the activities of the Centre are carried on with the greatest difficulty, and for this reason God put it into my mind to institute the Tahreek-i-Jadeed so that through it a central reserve fund should be created to make rapid expansion of Ahmadiyyat possible. The Tahreek, therefore, is no more than a humble

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and token offering of devotion—an admission of the fact that there is yet some time before the New Order of Alwasiyyat comes to be established, and a supreme effort to set the beginnings in motion.

Way to bring the New Order nearer.

As Ahmadiyyat spreads in the world, the range of the New Order of *Alwasiyyat* would increase and widen. When a railway train goes into motion, at first it creeps forward only at a snail's pace. But soon it gathers speed and rushes forward with so terrific a momentum that nothing can stand against it. The case of Ahmadiyyat and the New Order it seeks to establish is very similar. The income of the Movement at present is only a thin trickle, but anon it would become a mountain torrent fed by perpetual rains and snow ; and then, by and by, it would become like the deep and shoreless ocean. With each increase to this income the New Order would be brought so much nearer.

Tahreek-i Jadeed a forerunner of the New Order.

In short, although it has come later, the Tahreek-i-Jadeed is like a forerunner of the New Order outlined in *Alwasiyyat*. Every one who takes part in this Tahreek helps to widen the range of *Alwasiyyat* ; and every one who helps to widen this range helps in fact in the construction of the New Order.

The scheme of *Alwasiyyat* covers the entire field of the Order recommended by Islam. It is a mistake to think that the income from Wasiyyat can be spent upon the propagation of Islam by word of mouth alone ; for this income, with equal justification, can also be spent on all those projects which enable us to put before the world in *concrete form* the teaching given to us in the Holy Quran. Therefore, when the range of *Wasiyyat* has been duly widened, its income would not be spent upon *tabligh* alone. Rather, as indicated by Islam, it would be spent upon satisfying the needs of all ; and sorrow and suffering would be removed from

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this world. The orphan won't have to beg for bread, nor the widow to stretch out her hands in supplication. Those who are helpless shall not be friendless. The New Order of *Alwasiyyat* shall look after them all, and those who contribute to this New Order *shall have their reward with God.*

Mr. Churchill cannot create the New Orders which the world stands in need of, nor can Mr. Roosevelt. These Atlantic-charters are but play-things and palliatives to keep people from getting desperate. They have many defects. New Orders can be established only by those *whom God sends for the purpose in the hour of Humanity's need*—those who harbour in their hearts neither a hatred for the rich nor an undue regard for the poor—who neither belong to the East nor to the West. They are Messengers of God and they bring a teaching which alone is capable of creating peace and goodwill among men.

Advice to friends.

All Ahmadi friends should well realise the importance of this subject and bear in mind the arguments herein set forth, for sympathisers of Bolshevism are found almost everywhere. I have therefore dwelt at some length on its good points as well as its drawbacks. Similarly I have discussed the other important political movements as well. When discussing these questions with your non-Ahmadi friends, if you keep in mind what I have said today, you may feel sure that no one would be able to meet your criticism of these movements. If peace can be established in the world today it can be established only on lines I have laid down in this talk. Once before, too, in 1924, God revealed to me a point of surpassing importance in regard to world peace the like of which was never discovered by any commentator of the Holy Quran. It is not my habit to make claims of this kind, but I can say with complete confidence that discoveries of this kind have never been made except by the Prophets

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of God or their Khalifas (successors). If there is any instance on record, I should like to hear of it.

Those who make wills in accordance with Alwasiyyat participate in the construction of the New Order.

To those friends who have made bequests in accordance with *Alwasiyyat* I give the glad-tidings that they have played their part in the construction of this New Order. I give the same glad tidings to those who have taken part in the Tahreek-i-Jadeed, and to those as well who had nothing to give and therefore helped the movement with prayers. The New Orders which others are constructing are Orders based upon a negation of religion ; while you have been given a chance to construct an Order based upon spiritual values. But you should hurry and waste no time, for no race can be won without a quick and timely start.

Those who have not made the required bequests should do so at once so that the construction of the New Order should be completed as soon as possible. I take this opportunity to congratulate those who have taken part in this construction and pray that God in His grace and mercy may enable the others also to come forward manfully and share the burden so that they may reap the rich reward which waits for them with their Lord.

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